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Rocky Launches Long-Range Drive For GOP Presidential Nomination

By VICTOR RIESEL

Some political observers will mark a spaghetti and meatballs luncheon in the state capital's executive mansion on Monday, January 25, as the moment and the day Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller made his first move in the drive for re-election in 1966 and for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968.

That afternoon Mr. Rockefeller broke bread with some of his toughest political opponents—several labor leaders who had thrown everything their movements had into the fight to defeat him and his party.

But that Monday they had been his guests in grand style fit only for men being wooed because of their influence, prestige and the strength of their followers in the state's precincts.

In the luncheon group were the tireless Harry Van Arsdale, leader of the million-member New York City Central Labor Council; Howard Coughlin, swiftly becoming a national symbol of white collar unionism, who heads the Office Employes International Union and regional Teamsters national vice president Johnny O'Rourke, one of Rockefeller's most consistent and hard-hitting critics.

The previous Friday they, along with four or five others, had received the following telegram:

"Would it be possible for you to join me at a luncheon at the Executive Mansion in Albany on Monday, January 25, at 12 noon to review New York State legislative and fiscal matters. To facilitate your travel I will have a plane at Butler Marine Terminal at 11 a.m. Monday to take you to Albany and to return you to New York after luncheon. My office will be in touch with you by phone today. With best wishes, Nelson A. Rockefeller."

At the airport they found the family plane, "The Wayfarer," an F-27. On the flight to Albany, they were accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller's modest, soft-selling labor adviser, Victor Borella, executive vice president of Rockefeller Center.

On the return trip the governor joined the travelers. About 6 p.m., somewhere high in the sky hurtling towards New York City, Mr. Van Arsdale, after discussing the waywardness and muck of politics, suddenly asked Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller:

"Why, with all your wealth, don't you give all this up and take it easy? Why do you submit yourself to this type of thing? Why fight—fight the legislators, the politicians and all the pressure groups?"

The governor replied quickly:

"Because I love it, I love this business of politics, this way of life."

Somewhere in the conversations of the day he had become philosophical about political fortunes.

"You just can't tell about these things. Dick Nixon came east and I went west, and it did not do either of us any good."

But there was no doubt amongst his listeners that he was preparing eventually to go west again. Gov. Rockefeller, though surrounded by his cabinet at the luncheon, had done most of the talking.

He spoke of the future—as far off as 1972. He outlined plans which would keep him absorbed for years. To such labor leaders as Van Arsdale, Coughlin and O'Rourke, he seemed to be out "Democratic-ing the Democrats."

He spoke of spending over a billion dollars to fight air pollution; of disbursing well over a billion and seven hundred million dollars on heavy construction; of heavy outlays for education and at least half a billion for actual building of schools.

The governor estimated that this would create over 120,000 jobs in the next five years. This pleased the labor leaders. Johnny O'Rourke has 165,000 teamsters to worry about.

Howard Coughlin, easily one of the country's leading authorities on office automation, is concerned with maintaining white collar employment. And Van Arsdale still plans to uncork a drive for a four-hour day to take up the slack in construction jobs.

It would have been easy for Nelson Rockefeller to bypass the state's labor chiefs. They had fought him. They hardly expected to be consulted. They did not expect to be ferried by private plane.

They went up as Democrats. They did not return as Republicans. But the governor had eased a political strain. This may be a minor point for the moment. However, points add up in the political Olympics in which the grand prize is the White House.

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The Church-State Booby Trap in Johnson's Education Bill

The President's highly touted formula has not succeeded in solving the federal-aid-to-parochial-schools problem. It could backfire on either the public or church-connected schools. Both cannot win. **Page 12.**

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Is Somebody Sorting Your Garbage?

By PAUL HARVEY

Agents of our federal government may be sorting your garbage, reading letters which you thought destroyed. A spy, public or private, may be listening to a whispered conversation in your home from a car at the curb or a house across the street.

Your civil right to privacy, presumably guaranteed by our Constitution, is being violated by eavesdroppers employing all manners of new electronic devices. Snoops are at work in government, in business stores, offices, apartment houses, hotel rooms—even private homes.

The Green Felt Jungle details how Las Vegas hotel bedrooms have been bugged with hidden microphones and watched through mirrors, transparent from behind. The potential for blackmail is obvious. Further, a bugged telephone would seem to contradict the much-mentioned Fifth Amendment, which is intended to protect you against self-incrimination.

The Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments would appear to be flagrantly violated by such invasion of your privacy.

The Gallagher subcommittee on this subject, sifting complaints, hears that sensitive listening devices now can pick up conversations from three blocks away. Your office can be bugged from across the street. In some elevators, passengers are under secret surveillance by concealed TV eyes.

There are pulp magazines offering to sell anybody a device "allowing you to hear whispered conversations through solid walls" for $39.95. Another ad offers a parabolic microphone for picking up "distant conversations"—it's called "the Snooper"—for $18.95. The ad suggests that you may "aim it at a friend a block away and hear every word." The ad adds, "Think of the ways you can use this!"

Further, any local level police chief can request and get surveillance of the mail which is delivered to your address. The Post Office was performing 619 such "mail checks" one recent day. No court order. No "show-cause." Nothing but a "request," by any federal, state or local agency.

Rep. Cornelius Gallagher (D.-N.J.) thinks this adds up to justification for legislation against the sale and/or use of eavesdropping devices and other "unauthorized snooping."

If we deny the use of the wire tap and other such methods to our law enforcement agencies, will they not then be at a disadvantage in dealing with those persons who will continue to use such devices illegally? That's possible. The committee is not intending to inhibit the use of crime-detection devices to our FBI. But such weapons must be employed in a constitutional manner, and there seems to be no justification for their use by non-sensitive government agencies.

This misuse of modern technology has evolved so gradually that most Americans are unaware of the extent to which their "civil right to privacy" already has been violated.

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The Soy Bean Mystery

From the Richmond *News Leader*

• Here are the available facts on that soybean deal:

(1) On January 26, the U.S. Commerce Department approved an export license for 90,000 tons of soybeans to the Soviet Union, the biggest agricultural deal since the wheat sale a year or so ago.

(2) At the close of trading that day, Continental Grain Co. announced that it had sold $11 million worth of soybeans to the Soviet Union for cash. Continental is the same firm that handled the wheat deal.

(3) U.S. Agriculture Department experts say that there is no soybean shortage in the Soviet Union.

• Here are the available conjectures:

(1) The Soviets are expanding their chemical industry.

(2) The Soviets are experimenting with soy beans as cattle feed.

(3) The Soviets plan to transship the soybeans to a third country, such as Cuba.

• Here are some other facts:

(1) The embargo on trade with Cuba supposedly is still in effect.

(2) Despite warnings, Continental's 1963 wheat deal lacked restrictions to prevent transshipment to Cuba; some observers report that part of the grain actually was transshipped.

(3) There is no indication that the soybean deal has any strings attached at all.

Conclusion: Our *soi-disant* experts don't know beans about dealing with the Communists.

Southerners in the GOP

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

We keep reading and hearing about candidate Goldwater's "sordid" and "squalid" Southern strategy, but that must be because the commentators are looking for adjectives instead of evidence.

Any honest eye can see that Barry's formula for republicanizing the Old Confederacy is the only strategy that worked at all. Had his conservative message been as ineffective below the Potomac as it was practically everywhere west of the Chesapeake Bay, he would have been beaten worse than Landon, carrying only Arizona, leaving the GOP hardly an acre to reseed itself.

The reseeding commenced, although hardly noted in the national press which was focused on the defrocking of GOP Chairman Burch, almost as soon as Republican House members found their seats in the 89th Congress. At a meeting of the Republican conference on January 14, the GOP survivors passed

Southern Congressmen William Cramer (Fla.) and Richard Poff (Va.) have been made members of the House Republican leadership.

a succinct but significant resolution which read:

" . . . that the conference committee vice chairman and secretary be considered a part of the leadership with defined duties."

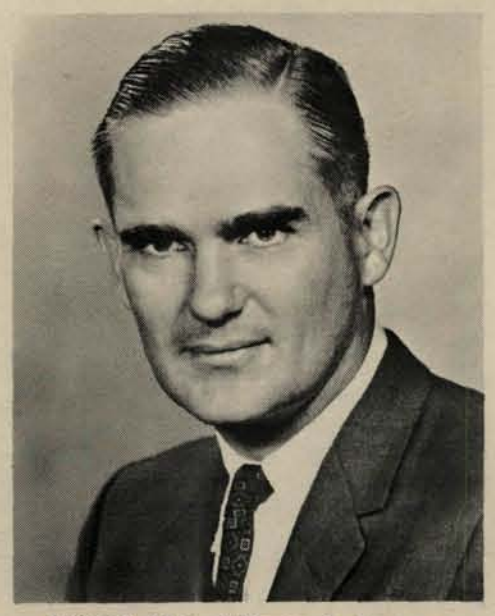
What significance? Well, the vice chairman is William Cramer of Florida and the secretary is Richard Poff of Virginia. By enlarging the official leadership to seven members, the House Republicans were moving two Southerners into positions of party command. Their "defined duties" are to steer GOP policy in conference, enunciate it on the floor and perform the loyal opposition of heckling Democrats. Never within memory —and only because of Goldwater's good Southern showing—have Southerners been raised to party leadership.

Shortly after Congress convened, Albert Watson of South Carolina switched parties and became a Republican—his state, his district and his junior senator having followed Goldwater at the national election. The GOP leadership took account of its astonishing gains in House seats from the erstwhile "Solid South." Mississippi and Georgia, thanks to Goldwater, each contributed a Republican congressman. Alabama contributed five. In all, the South now has an historically remarkable delegation of Republicans: two from Virginia, two from North Carolina, two from Florida, three from Tennessee, one from Kentucky, as well as the recruits from South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. There are two semi-Southerners from Maryland and one from West Virginia.

If the GOP is to rise again, it will be because the South is rising as a two-party region. If these Southern Republicans are to win reelection and build seniority, it will be because they make good in their jobs. In order to give the newcomers every chance to shine, the GOP leadership went out of its way to place them on major and suitable committees.

Contrary to derogatory comment, the Southern rookies—I think I have met them all at least once—are easily equal and often superior to the Democrats they replaced. The country has a right to know that these new Republicans are not freaks or cornpone comedians.

Glenn Andrews (Ala.), Princeton '31, was district manager of Eastman Kodak



Howard (Bo) Callaway is the new GOP congressman from Georgia.

and gained appointment to the Education and Labor Committee at his own request. John H. Buchanan Jr. (Ala.), formerly a Baptist pastor, goes to the Un-American Activities Committee. Jack Edwards (Ala.), a prominent railroad lawyer with many appearances before federal commissions, asked and got a position on the Merchant Marine-Fisheries Committee because he comes from the port city of Mobile.

James Martin (Ala.), past president of his local chamber of commerce, president of his own oil company, goes to the Public Works Committee that will handle most of the Appalachian rehabilitation. William Dickinson (Ala.), for almost five years a circuit court judge and president of his chamber of commerce, goes to the Government Operations Committee.

Howard Callaway (Ga.), is a West Point graduate, class of '49, with outstanding Korean War combat service and is assigned to Government Operations. John J. Duncan (Tenn.), twice mayor of Knoxville, is assigned to the Veterans Affairs Committee. Dr. Tim Lee Carter (Ky.) is a physician and former teacher with assignment to the Commerce Committee, which handles food, drug and public health legislation. Prentiss Walker (Miss.), owner of a poultry business and a Baptist church deacon, was assigned to the Agriculture Committee.

All the new Southern Republican members are positioned where they can do their best work, and the nation has gained this much from Goldwater's Southern strategy.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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COURSE IN ECONOMICS—America's high school students are being taught to drive cars—but they are not being told how our economic system makes it possible for them, or their parents, to own automobiles. Although a vast majority of secondary schools provide driver instruction, only a relative tiny minority have regular courses in economics. The Brookings Institute is authority for the estimate that only 5 per cent of high school graduates have been exposed to as much as a one-semester course in economics. (Iowa *Taxpayer*.)

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Government's Staggering Spending Blunders

By WALTER TROHAN

The federal government moves in mysterious ways to perform some of its spending blunders.

At the moment the Veterans Administration is proposing to shut down 11 veterans' hospitals and four veterans' homes and at the same time it is asking to build three new hospitals, in the area of one of those being shut down. It will cost $17 million.

In the Boston area, the government plans to build the National Aeronautics and Space Agency's $61 million research center in the heart of Cambridge, next door to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This means the displacement of 95 private firms with 4,000 employes and $40 million in land acquisition costs. Just three miles away by superhighway lies the Watertown Arsenal, which the government has shut down. Officials don't know what to do with it.

The government is loath to use or sell abandoned property. In Washington the Bureau of Standards was moved to a suburban area at a cost of millions of dollars. The government is clinging to the old and extensive establishment in a residential and commercial area, but hasn't yet decided what to do with it.

Some years ago, Garfield Hospital, named after the assassinated president James A. Garfield, was torn down. The hospital was located on rather extensive grounds near the heart of the city. The government, which is renting private property all over town, has still to decide what it's going to do with the valuable property.

The U.S. Information Agency has a building of its own, but recently rented several floors in a brand-new privately owned building next door. The agency was silent while the new structure was being built, but is now proposing to tear down its walls and the walls of the new building so that its employes can go back and forth without having to go out to the street.

The anti-poverty agency, which occupied office space in other federal buildings, recently rented hundreds of thousands of feet of floor space in a private building at a cost of almost $800,000 for five years.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was created to produce power by utilizing water resources of the area, yet it has produced most of its power by steam plants. The government is propo ing to step up its generating capacity, at a cost of millions of dollars, by construction of more steam plants. At least nine of these would be mine-mouthed coal-fired generating plants in the Appalachian region. Once they get power, they will compete with areas which already have power.

The federal government has long paid farmers not to farm acres and at the same time has spent millions for irrigation to bring other areas into production.

Under his education program President Johnson is proposing to spend millions to retrain men displaced by automation. At the same time he is proposing to revise immigration quotas so that trained men can be brought from abroad to compete with the newly-trained American workers for jobs in industry.

The Civil Aeronautics Agency recently switched over to electronic data processing to handle its payroll with economy and dispatch. On the first trial all the agency's employes wound up with an extra week's pay.

The government argues that one doesn't have to be crazy to understand these projects, only a scratching of the surface of spending, but it would seem to help. At the very time the government is talking of economy, it is going for broke on such spending.

(Copyright 1965, Chicago *Tribune*)

The U.S. Information Agency headquarters in Washington, D.C.

France Owes Us Billions But Still Takes Our Gold

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

It's a dream world.

President Charles de Gaulle can draw gold and threaten our dollar because, on balance, we owe France more than France owes us.

What nonsense! Totally false. France is in hock to us for everything but Napoleon's cocked hat and the family silver. Until a more outrageous situation comes along, this one will do.

We're to blame, nevertheless. The Bureau of Internal Revenue slaps you in jail if you fail to pay your debt to our government. But if you're a foreigner, oo-la-la, forget it.

This is the root of the trouble. The United States has always been a gleeful giver abroad but a very stupid collector.

Generation after generation of European government money men seem to put our debt collectors under an anesthetic. A few whiffs, a few banquets under crystal chandeliers, some *parlez-vous* about zis or zat, and the next thing you know our little lambs—wafted into some strange kind of inferiority complex—are dumping foreign nations' taxpayers' responsibilities smack in the lap of the American people.

In this naive yen to buy international goodwill we lose the respect of the Europeans as well as our money.

The price? It is colossal. Yet you never hear about it from Washington.

I have verified all figures in this article with the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and nothing here refers to America's $113 billion foreign aid—all free. I refer only to truly due obligations incurred by nations mostly now rich and loaded with gold.

France, for example, typifies just one of 20 countries owing us World War I debts which remain due and unpaid to this very day. The aggregate among the 20 exceeds $20 billion. But who would know it?

The French sum is $6.3 billion. It was many times higher than this but, guess what, France negotiated it down. Then in 1931 France said she couldn't pay that year's installment. Washington declared a one-year moratorium.

Well, that was the end of that. Paris simply refused to resume payments. Our taxpayers have made up the difference. The French government no longer even carries these billions on official statements covering France's external debt.

In addition, while de Gaulle draws gold, France also has outstanding three loans arising from World War II. These total a tidy $592 million. The repayment rate? A mere $21.5 million last year, $22 million due this year and $22.6 million in 1966, etc., on the first of these of which $409 million is owed.

Moreover, France also owes us $179 million still unpaid since 1945 on an Export-Import Bank loan, prepayments on which make the next installment not due until 1967.

Yet sunk under this mountain of debt, de Gaulle is nevertheless free to take a $150 million bite out of our dwindling gold reserve in a single recent day.

In similar fashion Britain still owes us $9.1 billion in World War I debts that remain due and unpaid. Oh, no, France has no monopoly on the anesthesia.

Germany owes us nothing, which is what she gets for attacking the world and losing the war. She now holds more dollars in her reserve than any country in the world. But Germany—like France, Italy, Spain, Holland and most European countries—feels uneasy about her dollar balances and has steadily increased her gold holdings relative to dollars.

European enthusiasm for President Johnson's proposal to free about $5 billion of the gold required to back our dollar is mighty, mighty understandable. It means the debtor nations, who now somehow call themselves creditors, can continue to get a piece of the U.S. pile.

If Mr. Johnson were so zealous in insisting on Europeans paying their debts as he is on changing the law to free our gold we would not have to chip a single ounce on balance and, in truth, the gold outflow could be reversed overnight.

Isn't there anything—anything, anything, anything—that can bring our officials out from under the ether? When, oh, when, will the American interest really be put forward in Washington?

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New Angle to Baker Hearings

From the Washington *Evening Star*

It isn't that there's any reason to doubt the word of a member of the House of Representatives, a U.S. senator, or anyone else. It's just that the coincidences in the Bobby Baker case keep on piling up and piling up. Any Hollywood hack would have abandoned the whole scenario long before this as totally and inherently incredible.

This, of course, doesn't mean the ready explanations aren't true, but it does stretch out into an unending line of coincidence without cause.

Rep. Emanuel Celler is only the latest. The New York Democrat had the misfortune to pick up a law client from Baker, the Sweet Water Development Co. of Texas. He got a retainer of $10,000 and returned $2,500 to Baker's firm and it's all just one of those things, says Mr. Celler.

After all, he points out, it took place "back in 1961, when nobody knew anything about Baker as we know now." By sheer coincidence the Texas water sweeteners seem to be engaged solely in government work, work which the Army claims has been very substantially over-priced, by another coincidence.

There isn't the remotest chance that the Senate, the House, or anyone is going to do anything about these coincidences. But the nation is indebted to the indefatigable Sen. Williams, who keeps turning up the evidence which, according to Sen. Clark, the Rules Committee investigation is always just about to handle itself, by an odd coincidence.

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IT IS BECOMING difficult for a young fellow these days to decide what course to take: whether to stay young and draw unemployment insurance and free commodities, or get old and take old age assistance and free medicine.
—From the *Daily Oklahoman*

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"FOR EVERY 10,000 PEOPLE in the United States there are 12 doctors, 11 lawyers and judges, 40 gas station workers and 37 telephone company employes. But for the same 10,000 Americans there are 130 federal civilian bureaucrats feeding at the public trough.—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Conservatives on the Hill aren't happy with LBJ's nomination of Nicholas Katzenbach as attorney general. Katzenbach has defended such Communist - infiltrated organizations as Mobilization for Youth, supports rent strikes and other forms of civil disobedience and has been spreading untruths regarding a conservative oriented member of one Democratic congressman's staff.

JOHNSON

• *The White House, according to labor sources, has assured union leaders that President Johnson will send an anti-right-to-work message to Congress within 60 days. This would signal the start of an intensive campaign to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.*

• A poll taken for California Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown disclosed that any one of three Republicans would defeat him for re-election in 1966, Los Angeles *Times'* Carl Greenberg has revealed. The Republicans currently favored over Brown are Sen. Thomas Kuchel, former Assemblyman Joseph C. Shell and Hollywood's Ronald Reagan. The latter two are staunch conservatives while Kuchel is a member of the GOP's liberal wing.

REAGAN

• *The nearly month-old dock strike which has cost the nation an estimated $1 billion already may have been prolonged by Communist influences in Baltimore and New York, according to none other than Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz's No. 2 man, James Reynolds. Some are speculating that Reynolds has been told by the Administration to "keep his mouth shut" on the subject since Reynolds has refused to amplify his original statement for inquiring reporters.*

• Roger M. Blough, board chairman of the United States Steel Corp., has lashed out at "the special scrutiny and attention" shown steel prices, which, he said, have remained practically unchanged on average over the past six years. The government's own index of finished steel prices, in fact, shows them lower today than a year ago, he said. In the light of these and other facts, Blough noted, "it is difficult to understand why steel—among all the industries of the nation—has been singled out for the special scrutiny and attention it has received in connection with prices. And those who seek to pinpoint the cause of inflation which has increased the cost of living nearly 8 per cent in the past six years will obviously have to look elsewhere for an explanation."

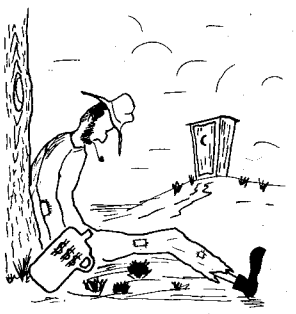
BLOUGH

• People's World, *official organ of the California Communist party, has cheered the Xerox Corporation's television special on the United Nations, "A Carol for Another Christmas." Said the Red publication: " . . . A sermon on humanity and its responsibilities is precisely what is necessary. It's not a little horrifying that in our country at this time a pitch is needed for the United Nations and for peace but that is the case, and we're all for figuratively hitting people over the head with the message. The program did that."*

This Week in Washington

The Appalachia Boondoggle

Senate Democrats rammed through that costly ($1.1 billion) "Appalachia" program last week and sent it to the House, but they did so with the aid of 11 Republicans, including GOP minority leader Everett Dirksen (Ill.) and whip Thomas Kuchel (Calif.).



The Appalachia program, which will spread taxpayers' money over 167,000 square miles of hills and mountains, is considered by some fiscal experts to be one of the biggest boondoggles ever. As was inevitable, lawmakers from outside the 11-state Appalachia area were adamantly insisting for amendments to create a regional program to help their states, but the senators, after a desperate plea from Bobby Kennedy, amended the bill only to include certain counties in New York, if Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and the Appalachian Regional Commission approved.

Appalachia is just the harbinger of other high-cost regional programs. Liberal Democrats whose states weren't covered by the bill voted for the program only after receiving Administration assurances that regional plans will be developed for other areas of the country, including the Great Plains and the Upper Great Lakes area.

Sen. Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) made this scorching criticism: "I am convinced that the whole concept of the bill . . . is to create an unprecedented opportunity for logrolling. Federal funds will gush forth without the restraint of reason. The necessary 'needs' test will become simply a matter of 'who is the most adept at rolling the log . . .'"

Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) stated he could hardly reconcile the statement by the director of the Bureau of the Budget that 2.5 million farmers "ought to leave the land and to go to the cities while at the same time we propose in the Appalachian bill to give up to $500 to each farmer in Appalachia to improve his pasture land . . ."

Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.) pointed out that this aid would accelerate cattle production at a time when the cattle industry is being pushed to the wall by a profit squeeze.

An unaccustomed opponent of such spending measures, liberal Democrat William Proxmire (Wis.), had earlier summed up his opposition to the road-building aspects of the program (which will consume 80 per cent of the funds) in the form of rhetorical questions to floor leader Sen. William Jennings Randolph (W.-Va.):

" . . . is it not true that road construction does not provide new skills, new training or new opportunites for people who are unemployed . . . is it not true that while a road program provides opportunities for some local employment, that in terms of dollars paid, it provides less employment by far than other programs and no opportunity for unemployed people in West Virginia to develop the new skills they really need?"

The bill has received no better welcome from House conservatives. Rep. William C. Cramer (Fla.), ranking Republican on the Special Public Works Subcommittee that opened hearings on the Senate-approved measure, said the proposal to aid these states would set a "new precedent" in enlarging federal power by allowing the Washington representative on the Appalachia commission "an absolute veto" over the recommendations of each state. This would give the federal government as much veto power over every proposed project as Russia has in the United Nations, charged Cramer.

The GOP Moderates

Liberal ideologues have set up Washington headquarters to capture control of the Republican party. The group—Republicans for Progress—is a direct descendant of the Committee to Support Moderate Republicans, a campaign organization that bankrolled GOP liberals in the last campaign.

Chairman of the group is Charles P. Taft. Members include Henry Cabot Lodge; Walter N. Thayer, president of the New York *Herald-Tribune;* Elmer Anderson, former governor of Minnesota; former Sen. Ralph Flanders of Vermont; and Malcolm Moos, one-time aide to Nelson Rockefeller and William Scranton.

Directing the Washington headquarters of Republicans for Progress is Albert E. Abrahams, who was for a decade the executive secretary to the liberal Sen. Clifford Case (R.-N.J.).

Republicans for Progress will work in close cooperation with other liberal splinter groups, including the Ripon Society of Cambridge, Mass., and the Trumbull Society of New York. It will prepare "background papers and research information" for liberal Republicans in and out of Congress.

Soviet Trip to Viet Nam

Intelligence circles in the Nation's Capital say President Johnson's sending of McGeorge Bundy, his chief adviser on national security, to consult with Ambassador Maxwell Taylor in Saigon could signal the first step toward a "negotiated settlement" there.

The fact that the visit was announced only shortly after the Soviet decision to send Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin to Hanoi, North Viet Nam, is said to have deep import; a secret, across-the-border meeting between Bundy (or one of his representatives) and the Russians could be in the offing. Others say Bundy would most probably receive word from a representative of the Russians through unofficial channels.

At any rate, talk continues of an impending settlement. Other circles are emphasizing the high importance of the Russian visit. Columnist Joseph Alsop says "it reveals . . . that the new masters of the Kremlin are solidly convinced President Johnson will do nothing further to avert a great American defeat in Southeast Asia; and they are accordingly persuaded that the North Vietnamese Communists are close to victory in the long, grim war in Viet Nam."

When the Kremlin thought there was any risk of a "final confrontation" with the United States, says Alsop, "they were careful not to give really serious and binding commitments" to the North Vietnamese. But with the seeming back-down on a full American commitment, the Soviets have put their prestige on the line in recent months by vociferously supporting Hanoi.

The high-powered Kosygin delegation will include both the minister of aviation and the deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. The latter has previously signed Soviet military assistance agreements with India and Indonesia.

The ultra-liberal Washington *Post,* which has ceaselessly pushed the soft-on-Soviet line, startled readers last week when it took the stand of the "cold warriors." "One can conclude," said the *Post,* " . . . that Moscow will now not only support Hanoi verbally, as it has increasingly done in recent months, but also give needed military aid to Hanoi in an effort to win its favor."

Continuing in uncharacteristic fashion, the *Post* gave out this "goldwaterism": "The Russians seem to have decided that they can have it both ways, that is, that they can give more active support to 'liberation wars' without risking American intervention or undermining the Soviet-American detente. . We can and should make it clear to Moscow that the second objective is incompatible with the first. This course of action will involve some risks, but inaction or a favorable reception of the new Soviet blandishments in these circumstances will be much riskier. It may well be that the final shape of the long-range foreign policy lines of Khrushchev's successors will greatly depend on our reaction to this fateful Soviet initiative [of going to Hanoi]."

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McCone's Warning

CIA Director John McCone, who is rumored to be on the way out, has told House and Senate leaders in executive session that the Soviets are pouring an enormous amount of resources into upgrading their military weapons, hoping for a "qualitative breakthrough."

At present, said the CIA chieftain, they are concentrating their energies on advancements in the intercontinental ballistic missile, the anti-missile missile and missile-firing submarines. If the Soviets achieve any extraordinary breakthrough, our missile system could turn out to be obsolete, particularly if the Soviets are successful in the anti-missile missile field.

An an example of the Communists' intensive effort to devise new and exotic weaponry, military officials are pointing to that recent Soviet atomic test shot which violated the nuclear test-ban treaty because radioactivity escaped beyond the Soviet borders. Our own scientists now entertain doubts that the test was an underground blast which accidentally "vented," as the Soviets claim.

Some speculate that it was a test conducted either on or above ground, which would mean the Soviets intentionally violated the test ban. One reason for such speculation: The Soviet blast released twice as much radioactivity into the air over Japan as the open-air Red Chinese explosion.

LBJ Slights Churchill

In London and Washington, LBJ is criticized for his "inexcusable rudeness" in connection with the funeral of Sir Winston Churchill. Reported the Washington *Post's* Robert Estabrook from London January 31:

"British newspapers this morning sharply criticized the Johnson Administration for not sending Vice President Humphrey to represent the United States at Sir Winston Churchill's funeral yesterday. At a time when feeling here is sensitive to any appearance of *lese majeste* toward Churchill or slight to what was a superbly organized British pageant, readers were told that President Johnson had committed a damaging gaffe."

At home, commentators of every persuasion were sharply critical of the chief executive. Max Lerner, writing in the ultra-liberal New York *Post,* found it "hard to understand why America was represented at the Churchill funeral by a judge and a diplomat, rather than by a political figure of top standing. . . Who can doubt that it was a mistake to leave America's great role in the storms that shook Churchill's life so drably unfulfilled at his death?"

Hearst Headline Service correspondent Frank Conniff, a Democratic candidate for Congress in the recent elections, concurred: "The President personally and the nation as a whole suffered as a result of this glaring underestimation of the funeral's impact."

Medicare Costs Bared

House Republicans these days are sharply critical of Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the all-important Ways and Means Committee which, prior to this year, has never acted favorably on the Administration's Medicare proposal (King-Anderson).

Mills, formerly an outspoken foe of Medicare, has not only caved in to LBJ's demands that he bring the Administration's bill to the floor for a vote this March, but is helping its passage by holding closed-door hearings.

By barring the news media, Mills has effectively shut off from public view some of the more objectionable features of this program for the elderly.

New figures compiled by the Social Security administration on January 28, now in the hands of Ways and Means Committee members, reveal that LBJ's Medicare program would be deep in the red by 1972, with payments exceeding income by well over a half billion dollars by 1975. And experts consider this to be a vast understatement of true cost.

Under LBJ's plan the Social Security taxable wage base would increase from $4,800 to $5,600 (thus hurting the lower and middle income earning group), and the tax rate would go up to 8.5 per cent. But even this, according to the Social Security administration's own figures, would not be enough to cover the costs of LBJ's "foot-in-the-door" Medicare plan.

• Medicare proponents are now admitting that federal control will definitely come with Medicare. These backers (few of them doctors) like to point out that under LBJ's proposal for the elderly only about 1,500 of the nation's 25,000 nursing homes could "qualify" to handle patients. "Doctor" Anthony Celebrezze, secretary of health, education and welfare, will also be able to specify certain improvements he feels the nursing homes should make for "the health and safety" of the patient. In addition, the nursing homes will be policed by a "utilization review" committee (on which bureaucrats outnumber doctors) whose job will not only be to see to it that federal regulations are followed, but that patients aren't kept longer in nursing homes than the politically controlled utilization committee desires.

• Another expense not figured in: If Medicare passes, the liberals are expected to force through legislation applying federal minimum-wage laws, unemployment compensation and the like to any non-profit hospitals included under Medicare. Such legislation, the American Hospital Association predicts, will push hospital costs up about one-third.

Study Poor

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has voted to authorize $55 million over a four year period for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, but the ACDA still remains a bubbling cauldron of controversy.

ACDA officials, who went under some intensive questioning before the committee, were reported to be much aware of public antagonism toward the agency and became extremely sensitive over questions regarding the mysterious Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), which has produced such "disarmament" gems as the "Phoenix" papers for the ACDA.

ACDA Director William C. Foster was described by one congressman as "losing his usual suaveness and composure" when Rep. Edna Kelly (D.-N.Y.) nonchalantly asked him about IDA. "There are some mighty fine Americans there," Foster shouted in a defensive manner, though no one had remotely suggested there weren't.

The congressman could have ruffled Foster's feathers even further by mentioning another controversial IDA study, paid for in large part by the ACDA and the Defense Department. The study, referred to in *Human Events* last week, is called "Study FAIR." *Human Events* now learns that five volumes are in existence, two of them still classified.

Volume 3, called *Unilateral Arms Control: A Survey,* is considered one of the most explosive government-supported documents. This extraordinary "study" finds there are "major advantages to be found" in unilateral disarmament measures. The paper scoffs at formally negotiated treaties which include inspection systems. The "internal political utility" of a genuine inspection system and its use as a "device for 'opening up' Soviet society are not of interest to us," says the report.

This IDA volume, moreover, argues that numerical superiority in strategic weapons is old fashioned and that stabilization of the arms race could occur if the United States keeps its strategic forces at a certain prescribed level. The IDA Study worries that "there will no doubt be pressure to try to maintain at least a numerical advantage in the years ahead."

Unless there is a "clear" military threat, says the report, the United States "need not object to concealed Soviet nuclear tests" nor "need the United States be greatly concerned with uncertainties in Soviet missile force levels."

Budget Gimmick

Under LBJ's orders, Budget Director Kermit Gordon has ordered high-ranking government officials to refrain from discussing the future costs of Administration spending programs.

"What the Gordon order means," comment columnists Evans and Novak, "is that the economy bloc will have more difficulty establishing the full-bloom cost of seedling programs being planted by the President this year. Even when Administration officials testify before Congress, the edict against disclosure of future-year spending, except for very rough and conditional estimates, is not to be broken."

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Two liberal congressmen pulled a fast one when the House tacked on an amendment to an agricultural appropriations bill denying Nasser $37 million in aid. The two speedsters: Democrats Eugene Keogh (N.Y.) and Bill Green (Pa.). Both Keogh and Green, following orders from the leadership, voted against the amendment when their names were called. But by the roll call's end, when it was apparent the amendment had passed, Keogh and Green switched to the winning side so they could please constituents back home.

KEOGH

• *The Communist* Worker (*February 2*) *has given favorable publicity to Indiana's repeal of its right-to-work law. The state's action was spurred by two powerful members of the Indiana legislature: Donald R. Yeagley, chairman of the Senate labor committee and a member of the United Auto Workers, and William Babinsak, chairman of the House labor committee and a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Democrats swept control of both chambers in the last election.* (*For more on Indiana right-to-work, see page 14.*)

• House GOP Leader Gerald Ford (Mich.) has charged that "a government big enough to give us everything we want is big enough to take everything we have." Addressing a Philadelphia audience, Rep. Ford said the "massive concentration of power" in the federal government poses a threat to the two-party system and "our traditional American society as well."

FORD

• *Outgoing Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis LeMay, not happy with Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's way of doing things, will say so out loud this fall. Scheduled for publication by Doubleday & Co. is LeMay's autobiography entitled* Mission with LeMay: My Story.

• Rep. Bob Wilson (Calif.), chairman of the House GOP Campaign Committee, asks: "How much is LBJ really saving at the White House with his douse-the-lights program? Not only is he asking Congress for $1 million in supplemental funds to run the executive office this fiscal year, but his new budget request to Congress seeks a total of $29.1 million next year for the mansion—a boast of $6.2 million over two years ago."

WILSON

• *Two former conservative GOP congressmen have been named to the board of trustees of Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA): Wisconsin's Henry C. Schadeberg and August E. Johansen of Michigan.*

• An official of the United Steel Workers has estimated that union President David J. McDonald and his chief rival, Secretary-Treasurer I.W. Abel, will together spend more than a half billion dollars in their campaigns for the union's highest office. Reports Murray Seeger in the New York *Times:* "This amount would include the salaries of union staff members who are drawing their pay although they have taken sides in the contest and are working to turn out the vote for one candidate or the other . . . The committes formed to support Mr. McDonald and Mr. Abel are likely to spend directly about $225,000 for printing, mailing, public relations and other campaign expenses."

McDONALD

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All the Way With LBJ

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Perhaps the most quoted line of T.S. Eliot, who recently passed on, is his mournful prediction: "This is the way the world ends . . . not with a bang, but a whimper." But that was written before the advent of the Johnson Joyriders.

These babies are made of sterner stuff. As they steer the Ship of State into the welfare whirlpool from which no republic returneth, they make it clear they're going out with a terrific bang.

The only whimpers come from starboard, where just a handful—27 million or so—of conservatives are huddled together for the ride they tried to stop. But portside, reserved for moderates and progressives, there's a loud brass band, Roman candles and a new bell that proclaims security throughout the land. The old bell used to proclaim liberty—but you can't have both, so the old one went overboard. And good riddance, too.

They also gave the heave-ho to the decimal system, a relic of that puritanical arithmetic which argued that if you were in debt you should pay it off and not write it off as owed to yourself. Instead they use the decibel system: everybody gets on a soapbox and hollers as he introduces a new law to speed up Utopia. This is passed immediately, and the Supreme Court automatically declares it constitutional.

Huh? Oh, sure, they still cite the Constitution, just as the current *Saturday Evening Post* still claims descent from Ben Franklin. The court members merely interpret the famous document to mean what they want it to instead of going by what it says. Otherwise, what's the use of being on the Supreme Court?

And such charges as they make are mild ones, done but to keep up with the times. When they decided in 1962 (with only Frankfurter and Harlan dissenting) on reapportionment—which was outside their province—they simply altered Article X of the Bill of Rights to read: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution are reserved to the Supreme Court. And pooh! for states' rights."

The fact that the Union had only been achieved when the smaller states, fearful of being swamped by the larger ones, were won over by the compromise of two houses, one based on population and the other on geography, and that this precedent had been followed in every state legislature—Nebraska excepted—meant little to the justices, to whom sociology is above the law. If reapportionment means that the bosses of six or seven cities will rule us from now on, so what?

The main thing is that it's one man, one vote. Except, of course, the ballots and voices of George Meany, Walter Reuther and Martin Luther King will count more than others. And that's just dandy with the justices, about whom there is none of that old nonsense of keeping aloof from politics.

Say—as just happened—the secretary of labor doesn't get along with his assistant, a tried and true AFL-CIO man, and wants to can him. Up steps Mr. Meany to remind the President of the union money thrown into the campaign. LBJ calls up Justice Goldberg and says, "Arthur, be a pal and fix this for me, will you?"

Replies the justice, "Certainly. That's what I'm here for, isn't it?" And the next thing you know, Mr. Wirtz and his assistant have made up.

Can you see some of the old fogies of previous courts, say John Marshall or Oliver Wendell Holmes, acting that way? Why, they might have snapped at the President and asked him where he got that stuff! This court plays ball.

And it's been that way in all departments since 1960. When, under the New Frontier, Postmaster Day fired a Southern letter-carrier because he didn't deliver the mail, the NAACP interceded and the postman got his job back. For all I know he may not be delivering the mail to this very day. But I'm sure he votes correctly, and that's the main thing, isn't it?

You must admire the way these lads are polite to each other. Why, no one of them snickered out loud when LBJ in his State of the Union address blandly asserted he was economy-minded and was going to balance the budget. Oh, maybe my wife and I did, but that was in the privacy of our living room.

Well, here we go, like it or not, and—who knows?—there may be something to this cradle-to-the-grave welfare. You won't cost your parents a cent when you're young, you can go on relief in your middle years and there's Social Security—and Medicare—when you're old. Certainly beats working.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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How to Figure Total Federal Taxes

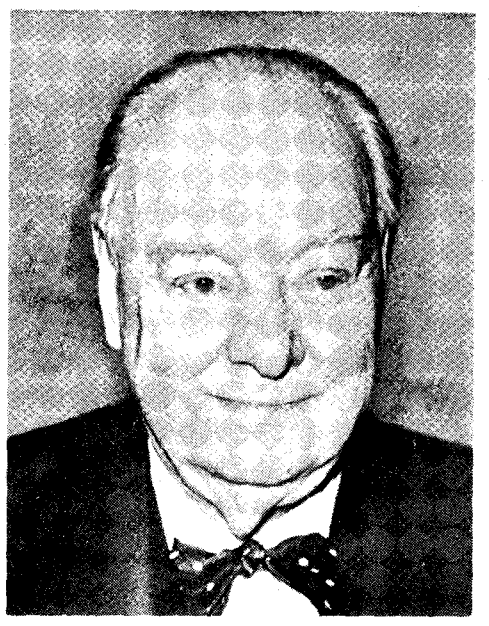
From the Indianapolis *News*

The Tax Foundation has devised a simple rule of thumb by which you can figure out how much you pay in hidden federal taxes. For every dollar of your federal income tax, you pay another $1.29 in other federal taxes, most of them hidden.

For instance, if your weekly income tax deduction is $15, you pay another $18 weekly in various other federal taxes. Your total of federal taxes is $33 a week. That's an average calculation, of course, and a particular individual might pay more or less, depending on his buying habits and the size of his income.

Some of the taxes can be seen. Examples are the Social Security tax and the 10 per cent added to the purchase price of cosmetics. A great many others are hidden, added somewhere along the line to the manufacturers' prices of a wide variety of goods, but not shown as separate items in the final purchase. Seen and unseen, they add up to one-fifth more than your income tax, if it is around the average. If your income is low or you have a lot of deductions, your hidden taxes are higher in relation to your income tax. If you have a very high taxable income, your hidden taxes may not come to so high a relative figure.

Now you know. Does it make you want to get out and beat the drums for more federal spending—or less?



Although disagreeing over strategy Winston Churchill (left) and Gen. Albert Wedemeyer both agreed on the desirability of getting to Berlin and Vienna before the Communists.

Churchill's Death Revives Arguments Over His Strategy

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

About the late Sir Winston Churchill's ability to rally his fellow Britons with winged words there is no argument. But the death of the grand old man revived some of the bickering about his strategic sense. There are still some mighty reputable military men in England and America who consider that Churchill, however great he may have been as a political leader, was no man to trust with the planning and execution of a military maneuver in the field.

In England and Australia there are those who still blame Churchill for the ill-fated attempt in World War I to force the Dardanelles and capture the Turkish city that was then called Constantinople. A quarter of a million British, French and Australians were casualties of the unsuccessful campaign to cut the Turkish Empire in two and thus open up a sea route to support the faltering Russians on the eastern front; and Churchill received most of the blame for the losses. "Damn the Dardanelles," said Lord Fisher, Britain's First Sea Lord, "they will be our grave."

Remembering the failure of Churchill's diversionary strategy in World War I, American Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, Chief of War Plans for General George Marshall in 1943, staked his job in Washington on his ability to defeat the Churchill plans to attack the Nazis and the Italian Fascists from the "soft underbelly" of Mediterranean Europe.

Wedemeyer argued that such an attack would be a logistical nightmare. He said it would be impossible to land enough supplies through Greek, Adriatic, Italian and southern French ports to support a significant Allied northward thrust capable of ending World War II. Wedemeyer insisted that if the Allies were to bring all their power to bear in northern France without bothering with island hopping and the Italian campaign in the Mediterranean, a second front in Europe might be opened in 1943. This was at a time when the Germans were engaged deep in Russia.

Wedemeyer's idea was to get ashore in western Europe in time to beat the Communists to such key capitals as Berlin, Prague, Vienna and Budapest.

Churchill, with all the prestige of his 1940 reputation behind him, easily outargued Wedemeyer with Franklin Roosevelt. The second front was postponed for a year, and the long and unrewarding campaign up the Italian peninusula followed. The "soft underbelly" proved as difficult as Wedemeyer had predicted, and the Russians, taking advantage of the delay in the opening of the second front, moved far to the west in the meantime.

Listening to the claims and counterclaims of the generals and the Churchillian amateurs, the layman tends to get lost in statistics about possible landing craft production, the depth of Adriatic harbors, and the number of available rail and motor routes into Austria from the Balkans. And there is always the imponderable: how many casualties could the British and the Americans have afforded in a cross-Channel invasion attempt in 1943?

Looking past the details, however, Churchill's general strategic sense was not so deficient as some of his detractors would have it. The idea of forcing the Dardanelles in World War I was based on a sound estimate of the futility of prolonged trench warfare in France. Ironically, the British fleet was called back from a projected last push at the Dardanelles at a time when the Turkish shore batteries were practically out of ammunition. "My God," said Admiral Roger Keyes when he visited Turkey after the war, "it would have been even easier than I thought; we simply couldn't have failed, and because we didn't try, another million lives were thrown away and the war went on for another three years."

Because of the failure at the Dardanelles, the Allies were powerless to prevent the collapse of the Czar's government in Russia. Not only did this give the Germans a new lease on life by taking one front out of the war, it also was responsible for the Bolshevik Revolution.

As for the Wedemeyer-Churchill controversy, one may note that the two men were fully agreed on one thing, to wit: the desirability of getting to Berlin and Vienna ahead of the Communists. Thus, though they differed on military possibilities, Churchill and Wedemeyer were alike in considering it a disaster to fight a war without a clear idea of the nature of the peace to be gained from it.

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THE NEXT OLYMPIC competition, it is rumored, will feature a U. S. embassy stoning contest.—Decatur *Herald*

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Unions Want Featherbedding

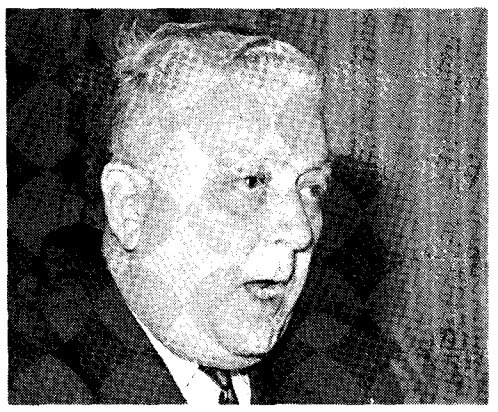
Should U.S. Seize Railroads?

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

George E. Leighty and the Railway Labor Executives' Assn., which he chairs, have called for nationalization of America's railroads. Mr. Leighty's grounds: "The present management of the railroad industry no longer has sufficient concern for the interests and the needs of the general public to be entrusted with the stewardship of the most fundamental and most essential part of our transportation system."

While startled by the RLEA demand, one must be amused by the grounds, and surprised Leighty could state them with a straight face, as his own "concern for the interests and the needs of the general public" has been about as evident as the concern of the Three Stooges for domestic tranquility and decorum.

Let's recall an example. Two years ago last fall, the Chicago & North Western Railroad, accepting every recommendation of a presidential board, offered telegraphers, for whom they had



George E. Leighty, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, has called for nationalization of the railroads.

no more need, up to 16.5 months of severance pay, traveling expenses, moving costs, preference in other jobs, and retraining.

"Forget it," replied Leighty, and for 30 days the nation witnessed a splendid display of his "concern for the interests and the needs of the general public." He ordered his 1,000 men, many of whom had not put in a full day's work for years, to walk off.

That road shut down. Thousands and thousands of commuters were forced onto clogged freeways; two-thirds of Wisconsin's pulp and paper industry closed. Timber in Michigan piled up by the tracks. The economy of the Midwest was grinding to a halt.

Cape Kennedy, just a year ago, was another victim of Leighty's "concern for the interests and the needs of the people."

And what of the other gentlemen of the RLEA?

Recently only a federal court saved this country from a national rail strike. Cause of that potential strike: Three shopcraft unions did not like the final recommendations of a presidential emergency board and they wanted to steal a march on eight of their brother unions that had accepted the package.

To get those extra pennies per hour they were quite willing to close down practically every railroad in the United States.

The true reason why Mr. Leighty and his friends want those railroads seized by the government is evident. The unions are confronted by automation and the need of the roads to streamline and modernize to compete.

To do this the roads must put an end to obsolete jobs. But no amount of generosity or fairness or severance is going to get the union leaders to agree to the elimination of obsolete jobs, because with the reduction of jobs comes reduction in union membership and loss of power for Leighty and his friends.

The railroads rightly will not end their efforts to eliminate what have come to be known as "featherbedders." So the union leaders see as a last resort, rear-guard action, strikes, walkouts and the like until the federal government is forced to seize the roads and then the unions can apply more effective political pressure to keep their obsolete jobs for life.

This talk of "concern" for the public need is just a cloak over the "concern" for their own power. No one who cared a farthing for the public interest would ever consider closing down America's railroads with the incredible damage that would do to the people of this country—just for his own gains.

The Good Old Days are gone forever for Leighty, Gilbert and the rest. They fear change; they fear progress; they can find no tolerable terms of peace with the future. They see their power slipping away; they see a public that recognizes their antics, that grows less patient with their threats, their demands, their arrogance and their obstinacy.

So the RLEA has now taken the final step. It wants the President of the United States to seize America's railroads to shield unions from the discipline of the future and to enable them to keep the power they have held and abused for so long.

For Mr. Johnson to take over railroads at the behest of unions which have caused those roads most of the troubles they have today would be an incredible injustice and we believe the President will have no hand in it.

Leighty and his friends have moved beyond the call of reason; they are not yet beyond the reach of Congress which should move to take from them the power their unions have abused for so long.

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LBJ's 'Telephone Diplomacy'

The dangers of reducing foreign policy to the spontaneous ideas of one man

By BARRY GOLDWATER

"Telephone diplomacy" has become an integral part of President Lyndon Johnson's policy in the handling of foreign affairs, according to recent reports. And the implications of such a "person-to-person" approach are, to say the least, frightening.

The President is said to be on the telephone with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson quite often, even though there is an official teletype line readily available. Canada's Lester Pearson is said to be another telephone crony.

It was a casual call, in fact, that was credited with setting up the meeting between the President and Mr. Pearson that led to the decision to drop duty payments on automobile sales between the United States and Canada.

We can all remember the hot-line calls between the late President John Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the Cuban missile crisis. It has so far proved impossible by any means to obtain a full record of what actually took place in those vital exchanges.

The fact that we withdrew our missiles from Turkey and Italy at that time, and later made other concessions to the Soviets, has made it irresistible to assume that, in fact, there were some secret deals.

The point is simply this: so long as American diplomacy is conducted by one man, over the phone, the American people will remain puppets, not participants, in the foreign policy of their nation.

The President is of course charged with the conduct of that policy. There is

President Johnson's political technique of man-to-man persuasion is not always suited to conduct of foreign policy.

nothing in the Constitution which says that he must conduct that policy in public. The Senate becomes involved only in advising and consenting in regard to treaties and appointments.

It would be a paradox of the highest order, however, if the very men who shout the loudest about how complicated the world has become should now reduce foreign policy, of all things, to the dangerous simplicity of the spontaneous, perhaps even impulsive ideas of the moment of a single man.

The tendency toward personalized telephone diplomacy is in keeping with the President's long-time experience and habit. During his career in the House and the Senate, Lyndon Johnson based his entire operations upon man-to-man contact and persuasion. So much so, in fact, that his detractors were fond of referring to the technique as "wheeling and dealing."

Because this approach has served him well in the past, it is reasonable to expect Mr. Johnson to make use of it in the conduct of the nation's foreign policy.

As President, however, Mr. Johnson's personal whims do not just mould the relatively transient decisions of the House or Senate. They could, in fact, decide the future of mankind.

It is difficult to see how, except in cases of the most exhaustive technical detail (which would scarcely be fit for phone chats anyway), the President can justify making important points of foreign policy in absolute secrecy over the telephone.

These aren't calls made by a private citizen or an important senator or even a vice president. These are calls from one chief of state to another chief of state. Anything said by the man speaking as the President of the United States must carry important weight in any kind of diplomatic situation. For there is no way the President could call up another chief of state and say; "This is Lyndon Johnson. I'm not calling as President of the United States, but as a private citizen."

It would be neither in accordance with protocol nor advisable for the President of the United States to call anyone in a foreign government except his own counterpart.

Thus, in effect, you have the President of the United States going to telephone summits of his own making on individual questions of international affairs. And this is not the kind of presidential activity that inspires confidence.

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Business Indifferent To NLRB's GE Decision

By DONALD I. ROGERS

The indifference of leaders of the business community to the problems of their fellow businessmen was never more manifest than in the total silence that has followed the National Labor Relations Board's decision which found General Electric Co. guilty of not bargaining in good faith in its 1960 wage contract negotiations with the International Union of Electrical Workers.

Even though the decision affects every company that has dealings with a union, even though it involves freedom of speech, even though it challenges the very principle of free collective bargaining, no voice has been heard from the ranks of business either approving it or condemning it.

The business world seems to be pretending that it didn't happen, just as the Civil Liberties Union, the ADA and others who are usually vocal about infringements of freedom of speech, seem to be pretending that while the precious right must be safeguarded for union leaders, it need not be extended to corporate officials.

General Electric's "guilt" stems from the fact that it made its union an offer in response to union demands, then maintained communications with its own employees during the bargaining, the while sticking by its offer. This is the technique developed by retired GE vice president Lemuel R. Boulware. It calls for the company to make a "fair and firm" offer at the beginning of contract talks, based on the hard, sometimes cruel economic realities of the competitive world.

Then, under the Boulware plan, the company undertakes to explain its position to its employes, and to keep them posted as to progress of discussions with their labor leaders. Boulware reasoned that much wasted time could be saved if the company worked out the arithmetic beforehand and presented employes with all the facts.

Now the NLRB says this is illegal because it is a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude. It is wrong, says NLRB, to maintain communication with the employees during bargaining.

Union boss James Carey charged that the communications were intended to "disparage and discredit" the union leaders. No such thing, GE retorted; it was making factual reports to employees, part of a year-round information program to keep them updated on the "fortunes of the company." Employees have a right to know this, the company adds.

Unless the decision is reversed by the 7th Circuit Court in Chicago, the NLRB decision will stand, meaning that:

It is illegal for a company to let its workers know how it is doing financially or otherwise during contract negotiations; it is illegal to explain to employees why a company is making a specific offer; it is illegal to make a true and factual offer of what it is willing to grant employees in raises and benefits, but instead must make an offer which it is willing to "negotiate;" it is illegal for a company even to comment on the state of the economy or state of its industry while labor leaders are negotiating for raises or benefits.

If the rest of the business world thinks that this is discriminatory, the outside world doesn't know it, for the business leaders and business spokesmen have remained mute.

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Labor Party Trembles

The Defeat of Patrick Gordon Walker

By RUSSELL KIRK

Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, one of the brightest luminaries of Britain's Labor party, abruptly has ceased to be secretary of state for foreign affairs. Defeated in the by-election for the House of Commons at Leyton, for the time being he has been retired to private life. And that probably means that the Socialist government of Britain cannot endure for more than a very few months —its overall majority in the Commons being reduced to three seats.

What happened at Leyton was a startling public repudiation of the Labor government. Had Mr. Harold Wilson, the prime minister, stood for election at Leyton, he too would have been unseated—in what ordinarily is a safe Labor constituency. Only three or four days before the Leyton catastrophe, public opinion polls indicated that if Wilson were to call a general election now, Labor would win a 100-seat majority in Britain.

Foreign Secretary Gordon Walker's defeat in a "safe" Labor constituency was a severe blow to Harold Wilson's forces.

But as so often happens, the polls were ludicrously wrong. It now appears that the Conservatives, instead, would win a majority of that size in the House of Commons, were Mr. Wilson so imprudent as to call a general election now.

Why has the British electorate turned against Labor, only 98 days after the defeat of Sir Alec Douglas Home's government? For reasons which this commentator predicted twice in recent weeks. Mr. Gordon Walker's fall was only incidentally the result of his stand in favor of colored immigration to Britain—for, despite the disagreeable antics of Mr. Colin Jordan, head of the "British Nazi party," racial troubles were minor in Leyton.

First, the Wilson government failed to fulfill the promises which Labor made during its October campaign. Instead of checking inflation, the Labor ministers promptly accepted higher prices of all sorts, higher rail fares and the like. Instead of bolstering the British aircraft industry, the government (as part of its policy of reducing military expenditure by relying on the American nuclear umbrella) proceeded to cancel aircraft contracts—thus confronting a good many Labor voters with the prospect of unemployment.

Second, the Socialists have endeavored to enact doctrinaire legislation which few Englishmen and Scots desire. The bill to abolish capital punishment apparently is opposed by three-fourths of the electorate. The bill to re-nationalize the steel industry has seemed irresponsible to many, and has contributed toward the shakiness of the pound sterling. The proposal to abolish the traditional grammar schools, supplanting them by "progressive" comprehensive high schools, has disturbed the more reflective voter—and rightly so.

Labor, in short, promised all things to all men—and, once in office, could produce only stale old Socialist slogans. In America, President Johnson may have an experience, in 1966's congressional elections, somewhat similar to Mr. Wilson's disagreeable dose—and for similar reasons.

The Labor government is weakened by the loss of Mr. Gordon Walker, who was one of its more imaginative ministers, and who was responsible in part for the strong stand Britain has taken against Indonesia's attack on Malaysia. In fear and trembling, the Socialists now confront the possibility of having to spend more lean years in the political wilderness, from which they emerged briefly with Mr. Wilson as their Moses.

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"IF WE WILL NOT LEARN from history, we are condemned to repeat it."—*Santayana.*

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Government Accounting Office Charges Waste Has Tripled Under Pres. Johnson

From the Republican Congressional Committee *Newsletter*

A thin, blue-covered document with all the marks of federal dullness on it is causing a small furor on Capitol Hill and rather red faces at the State Department.

Signed by Joseph Campbell, U.S. comptroller general, who heads the General Accounting Office, it disclosed that his sharp-eyed accountants had caught Secretary of State Dean Rusk's operation in an old Democratic trick: Backdating expenditures so they would appear in the previous year's budget.

This was one method President Johnson used to "reduce" spending and make his budget requests look good.

In his latest report, sent to Congress in mid-January, Campbell, who serves as congressional-appointed "watchdog" over U.S. spending, advised Congress that the State Department had backdated a combined amount of $513,163 spent in fiscal 1965 to the fiscal 1964 budget —"a clear violation" of law, he noted, which stipulates that fiscal year appropriations "can be obligated only during the year which made."

The report was a bit more hard-hitting than usual, but generally was typical of the operations of the General Accounting Office, one of the most respected agencies in Washington.

For GAO, which abjures politics, was created *by* Congress in 1921 to act *for* Congress in "examining the manner in which government agencies discharge their financial responsibilities with regard to public funds. . ." It took over the audit responsibility from the U.S. Treasury and was placed under the direction and control of the comptroller general, a non-political appointee who serves a 15-year term and need not retire until age 70.

Although President Johnson has consistently "talked" about economy in government, GAO's sleuths uncovered three times as much federal waste last year as in the early years of the Kennedy Administration.

GAO says its estimates of savings would be higher if a price tag could be placed on all economies its audits produce, but the agency nevertheless notes solid savings of $162,875,000 in 1962, $247,547,000 in 1963 and $321,489,000 in 1964 – for a three-year total of $731,911,000.

Although GAO maintains that these increased annual savings resulted from stepped-up surveillance by its auditors, few would disagree that today's vast federal establishment, stretching into virtually every U.S. crossroads and a long list of foreign countries, has never offered accountants a more fertile field for the discovery of wasteful spending.

Here are just a few of the literally hundreds of examples of bureaucratic bungling, waste and inefficiency which GAO's cold-eyed auditors picked up in the past three years and reported to Congress:

• The Area Redevelopment Administration, set up by Congress to make loans for job-producing projects in depressed areas, approved more than $2 million in loans on the basis of greatly exaggerated claims that the two projects involved would create 450 new jobs. GAO charged that "proper analyses of available information would have shown that only 165 new employment opportunities could reasonably have been expected. . ."

• The Bureau of Prisons spent about $100,000 to build and furnish a residence for the warden at Leavenworth (Kans.) and to extend a road and utilities to the residence site. The cost of the house was about three and a half times the maximum authorized for the residence of a commanding officer of a military post and exceeded by half the limitations set forth by the U.S. Bureau of the Budget on the cost of such residences.

• The Army procured 557 unneeded high-powered air conditioners at a cost of $2.1 million.

• The Army accepted without adequate inspection defective rocker-arm assemblies for combat vehicle engines costing $156,000.

• The Army wasted over an 18-month period $1.3 million by leasing, rather than purchasing, two electronic computers and supporting equipment.

• The Navy wasted $1,010,000 by contracting to pay an electrical manufacturing company for technical data which the Navy had already acquired unlimited rights to use.

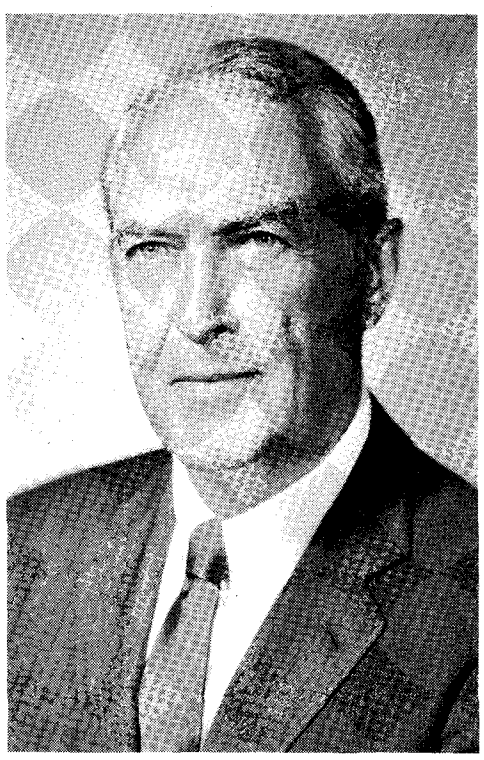
• The Office of Defense Lending of the U.S. Treasury had seven employees to service its 21 outstanding loans at a cost of $88,000. GAO recommended the functions of ODL be taken over by another Treasury office.

Although all of the above sums represent dollars over the dam, never to be recovered, more reassuring are the monies actually saved by GAO, together with refunds collected from erroneously-overpaid contractors of federal employees. These latter sums are returned to the Treasury. Savings plus collections and other benefits equal the total sum rescued each year by GAO, a sum always far in excess of what GAO itself costs the taxpayers. The $321,489,000 total for 1964, for example, amounts to a return of $7 for each dollar spent by GAO during the year.

Sample GAO savings listed in its 1964 report include $48,139,000, which resulted from the cancellation of government plans to buy unneeded materials; $2.139 million from the reclamation of parts from excess aircraft engines, and $39.4 million in aircraft operating and maintenance expenses resulting from excusing certain rated officers from flying.

The 1963 report showed savings of $55,106,000 produced by requiring government departments to buy competitively (from competing firms) or directly from the manufacturer instead of from sole source suppliers; $38,946,000 produced by cancellation of unneeded materials; $6 million resulting from use of highway mileage instead of rail mileage in computing costs of travel by military personnel and dependents.

The 1962 report listed savings of $15,263,000 from the cancellation of plans to buy unneeded materials; $2,806,000 resulting from the use of existing supplies instead of buying new supplies; and $1.158 million from substantially lower prices negotiated under new contracts in which the contractor was required to furnish cost or price analyses.



Comptroller General Joseph Campbell watches over federal spending.

GAO, which makes regular reports on its discoveries and recommendations to Congress and the appropriate agencies involved, is widely respected on Capitol Hill.

Terming the agency's efforts "excellent," Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.), an accountant himself, asserted: "I would hope that both Congress and the executive would pay more attention to these reports and follow up what they recommend." Similarly, Rep. H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa), who has been labeled as a congressional "watch-dog" over federal spending himself, said he "strongly supports" GAO's functions.

Meanwhile, GAO greets the Administration's "economy" speeches by turning off its earphones and calmly going about its business of discovering the truth.

ROLL OUT THE BARRELS

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JOHNSON'S 'GREAT SOCIETY' BARREL JUMP
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NO HAND

Abandoned Car New Jenkins Mystery

From the Allen-Scott Report

A new Walter Jenkins mystery is intriguing Senate investigators.

It involves an apparently abandoned automobile registered as belonging to the LBJ Company, which operates the Austin, Tex., TV-radio properties owned by the President's family, and a receipt for gasoline bought with Jenkins' credit card the same day the car was found.

Other details of this still-unexplained affair—in the hands of the Senate Rules Committee, which has subpoenaed Jenkins for questioning in its protracted on-again off-again Bobby Baker investigation—are as follows:

Early last month, U.S. Park Police found an unoccupied automobile on a shoulder of the Baltimore-Washington expressway. The car was in good condition, and there was no indication of an accident or any other untoward incident. Everything pointed to its having been deliberately left by the roadside.

A police check of the license tags revealed the startling fact that the auto was owned by the LBJ Company.

Capping this jolter was the discovery of a receipt in the glove compartment indicating that Jenkins' credit card had been used to purchase gasoline that same day—presumably for the car.

The Park Police immediately notified the Secret Service and were told to await further instructions.

Within an hour, the Secret Service directed the Park Police to leave the car where it was, to see that nothing in it was disturbed, and that one of its agents would shortly come and get it.

That was the last seen or heard of the auto, or anything about it.

Inquiries brought the information that the "matter is considered closed," and that the White House wanted nothing further said about it.

Members of the Senate Rules Committee plan to question Jenkins about this strange episode.

Reason is that at the time it occurred the investigators were trying to locate the one-time close assistant of the President to serve him with a subpoena to come before them for questioning. Jenkins' doctors had advised the committee he was still too ill to testify.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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New Evidence Shows Chinese Reds Trying to Infiltrate U.S. Labor

By VICTOR RIESEL

Unnoticed by a forgetful public, a local grand jury has been probing the conspiracy which launched bloody barricade-building, window smashing, looting, and rioting that turned streets in New York City into shambles last summer.

In recent weeks, at least 18 defiant young self-proclaimed revolutionaries have been quizzed. Most of them are avowed disciples of mainland China's Mao Tse-tung, who talk openly of carrying his guerrilla tactics into the streets of America's cities.

The reluctant witnesses are tough, well trained, direct actionists who lead the upsurging Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) which is quite serious about its revolutionary doctrines. They are obviously well directed. They apparently have a quasi-military central command. They are fully financed. They have no dearth of specialists in guerrilla tactics or of "agit-props," agitation-propagandists.

William Epton, vice-chairman of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement and head of the Harlem chapter.

They find no difficulty in deluging New York and other metropolises with expensive, deftly written newspapers, magazines and pamphlets championing Peking's Communist line.

They issue regional and neighborhood publications.

But what troubles the federal and local authorities most—and what has brought observers from other cities into the huge community of New York—is the complex of sub-organizations they are able to project into the tense, teeming, multi-racial, multi-tongued slum neighborhoods.

They are linked with hard-hitting pseudo labor groups which have attempted to provoke chaos on the docks and bitterness among hundreds of thousands of welfare and relief recipients during the strikes in New York City.

Most of the propaganda activity is directed by three men. The leader is Milton Rosen, chairman of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement, who left the official Communist party because it is far too tame.

His aide is vice chairman William Epton, who doubles as head of the PLM's Harlem branch. Epton was arrested last August 5 on charges of committing criminal anarchy and incitement to commit bodily harm to police officers and local judges.

Walter Linder, publicist and labor specialist, has recently set up the Railroad Workers Unemployment Council.

The third is a mysterious Walter Linder, publicist and labor specialist. One of his latest creations is the Railroad Workers Unemployment Council. This was set up in an effort to infiltrate the ranks of those now being laid off by the railroads under a recent Supreme Court decision.

The trio's most recent and most ambitious project was an effort to prolong the national waterfront strike. Recently they devoted much of their eight-page, expensively printed tabloid, "Challenge," to attacks on leaders of the International Longshoremen's Assn. (ILA) and the federal government. This edition was prepared by one obviously intimate with the most complicated waterfront matters. No amateur job, this.

Thousands of copies were distributed along the paralyzed Manhattan and Brooklyn docks. All went with precision. Young men appeared, distributed their bundles, spread their papers among striking longshoremen and disappeared quickly. Some were chased off, and swiftly made their way to getaway cars as well as public transport.

Few ILA leaders believe the revolutionary literature had any definitive impact. But the bid was obvious. Even if a few militant dockers heeded the incitement, it was worth it to the pro-Peking group. The strike cost the country some $67 million daily.

All this activity requires heavy financing. The "Challenge" waterfront operation is not the only sortie into such agit-prop work in critical areas.

The revolutionary PLM floats new organizations at will—and then publishes district sections of their magazine, "Progressive Labor," to help publicize the new front ventures. Typical, in the northern section of New York City, is their new Organization of Spanish-Speaking Workers.

This is a direct appeal not only to the huge Puerto Rican community but to the big Cuban population. The PLM is ever hopeful of whipping up a movement for the independence of Puerto Rico.

Among the Cubans, PLM seeks to win the youth back to Castro. At least one of those questioned by the grand jury here was the leader of a group of 84 youths who took a well-publicized propaganda trip to Havana recently.

The emergence of a direct-action youth movement devoted to guerrilla tactics on city streets in this community alone would be disturbing. But it is nationally significant because of the PLM leaders' plans to use their experiences in New York as the basis of invasion of scores of other cities with Spanish-speaking populations and heavily populated Negro districts.

These plans also prove that the Maoists are not excluding the United States from their militant infiltration of big cities across the world. And Mao-ist infiltration means turbulence. The grand jury here will prove this. The public should take note.

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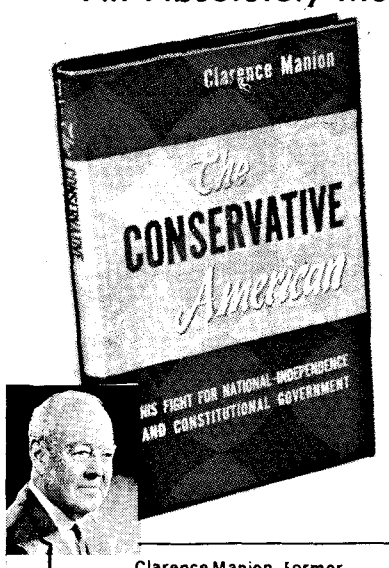
-Daniel A. Poling—Editor, *Christian Herald*



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Next: Scrap Iron for Russia?

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

The nation's scrap metal leaders were told the other day that they ought to start thinking about selling scrap iron to the Soviet Union.

The occasion was the annual convention of the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel in Miami Beach, and the speaker was George Donat, administrator of the Business and Defense Services Administration of the Commerce Department.

The suggestion, on its face, is mildly reminiscent of the pre-World War II days when the American scrap metal industry—with government acquiescence and approval—sent scrap iron to Japan. Indeed, in the question period following Mr. Donat's presentation in Miami Beach, one member of the audience recalled the criticism the industry sustained after the Japanese "shot back" scrap they had purchased from the United States prior to Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Donat's answer—presumably in behalf of the Johnson Administration—was that a great deal of water had gone over the dam since the early 1940s. Among other things, scrap is considerably more plentiful today than it was then. And the techniques of war have changed vastly.

This, of course, is very true. But steel remains one of the basic elements of any nation's war-making capacity. The feverishness with which the Russians have attempted to forge ahead in the steel-making field is evidence enough of that.

It is significant, we think, that the agitation for the sale of scrap iron to the Soviet Union did not originate in the industry. It has originated instead in the federal government. It becomes, consequently, a by-product of the foreign policy-making machinery, which is still evidently scanning the horizons for new means of "reducing tensions."

The ultimate means, of course, might be the sale of nuclear weapons. Who knows? That may be next!

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WORTH REMEMBERING: Our national debt today means that every man, woman and child in the country owes $1,600 which, some day, must be paid. Interest alone annually amounts to more than three times as much as the federal government spent for all purposes each year from 1926 through 1930.—Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.)

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Terror in Kingsport

For almost two years a Tennessee company has weathered a strike by operating with non-strikers and new employes.

By M. R. LEFKOE

On March 11, 1963, a strike began in Kingsport, Tenn. The aftermath of terror, violence, destruction and hatred will not soon be forgotten by the 33,000 men, women and children of that community. That day marked the end of peace in Kingsport.

Few Americans, including the more than 17 million who belong to unions, have ever been directly involved in a strike. Most people regard a strike as a peaceful economic device employed to convince the boss that his wage and benefits offer is below the going market price. If unions call their members out on strike and if other workers won't work on the terms rejected by the union, then it is assumed the union has proved its point: that the offer is too low.

What happens in far too many strikes is unrelated to the popular concept of the strike as a valid and healthy economic technique employed by unions to dramatize their views. The events in Kingsport during the past two years constitute a typical if somewhat extreme case history of what happens when a company attempts to operate with non-strikers and new employes, as the law permits it to do, when the old, regular employes refuse to work.

Kingsport Press is one of the nation's largest manufacturers of hard-cover books, and its roster of clients has included almost every major book publisher in America.

Between 1937 and 1947 four printing unions and a machinists union won bargaining rights for various groups of Press employes. Until 1963, however, the company had never experienced a serious labor dispute with any of its five unions.

Starting late in 1962, the last year of the three-year contract then in effect, the company met with union representatives on over 100 separate occasions in an attempt to agree on a new contract. Most of the minor issues were resolved at those meetings, but on March 10, the day before the strike, three major areas remained unsettled: wages, vacations and a shorter work week.

The company had raised its offer on wages and benefits on four separate occasions during the months just preceding the strike, but was unwilling to make any further concessions; it believed its final offer was fair and equitable in view of its own economic position and in comparison with local wage rates. It was one of the highest-paying employers in the community.

The average pressman employed at Kingsport Press earned close to $7,000 during 1962, not counting his interest in a profit-sharing plan which gave him another $1,200 a year. Many journeymen (skilled employes with about six years experience) were earning as much as $10,000 a year, including overtime, but excluding their profit-sharing benefits.

The final offer, according to company spokesmen, would have resulted in the following wage scale for all journeymen who were then earning $3.005 and over per hour: By the third year of the new contract, wages per hour would range from $3.215 to $3.59 for the first shift, from $3.51 to $3.91 for the second shift, and $3.745 to $4.17 for the third shift.

Mr. Lefkoe is a free-lance writer whose articles have appeared in such publications as *Fortune*, *Barron's* and the *Wall Street Journal*.

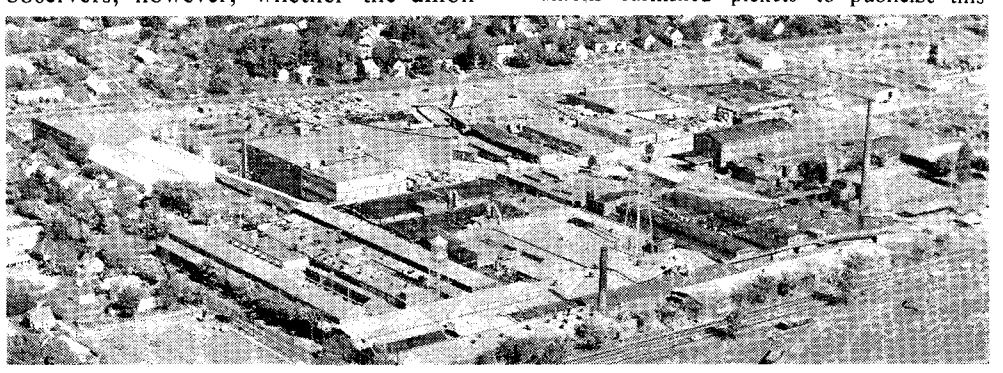
In addition, the experience of the preceding four years indicated that the average journeyman would receive about $.30 per regular-time hour more from the company's contribution to the profit-sharing plan.

And now, the genesis and anatomy of a strike.

On March 10, the president of the International Pressmen's Union, the designated spokesman for the five local unions, told the company that a strike would be called unless his economic demands were met.

Rejecting the company's fourth and final offer, the union representatives walked out, threatening, according to Press spokesmen, that "none of the unions would take the company's last offer back to their individual memberships for a vote."

One secret ballot was taken. According to the unions, over 85 per cent of their total membership voted for a strike. A question remains in the minds of many observers, however, whether the union members voted to give their leaders power to call a strike—not really expecting one to be called—in order to give them an important bargaining weapon, or whether they actually voted to go on strike. There have been no secret ballots on company proposals.



The Kingsport Press in Kingsport, Tenn.

Soon after the strike began, Anthony J. De Andrade, president of the International Pressmen's Union, addressed a rally of union members in Kingsport. According to the story carried in the town's local paper, De Andrade stated that the union's "major reason" for seeking higher wages, shorter hours and longer vacations was that they were sub-standard when compared to those in big-city printing firms; he did admit, however, the wage and benefit package offered by the Press was better than that offered by most other employers in Kingsport.

Then he conceded that "pressure from the Press' competitors" also was a major factor in the unions' demands. These two admissions prompted a member of the audience to ask if these factors reflected a decision to strike based on the interests of the international union as opposed to the interests of the Kingsport workers. De Andrade replied: "No, that isn't so. The workers here are concerned about the welfare of their fellow craftsmen in other cities."

Apparently De Andrade soon realized that few employes—unionized or not—would be willing to forgo salaries exceeding $120 a week for many months solely because of their "concern about the welfare of their fellow craftsmen." Shortly afterward, the Allied Kingsport Press Unions (the organization representing the five striking unions) repudiated De Andrade's answer by putting out a release entitled: "Facts vs. Fallacies—The Truth About the Kingsport Press Strike."

The release quotes the following accusation leveled at the unions, which it declares a "fallacy": "The strike was engineered and promoted by the international union representatives and officers in order to get more business for competing plants of the Kingsport Press up North and East." The "fact" offered by the unions: "That is sheer fiction and nonsense."

But whatever the real reason for calling the strike, the unions soon made very clear that they were not going to wait to see if other workers were willing to accept the company's last offer.

It was, said one union representative, "economic warfare":

- The union attempted to prevent suppliers, customers and independent transportation companies from entering and leaving company property. Several examples which were cited during court hearings include: threatening and intimidating employes of companies which do business with the Press when they attempted to enter and leave company grounds; preventing a train from entering company grounds; forcing the truck of a freight company handling Press goods off the road after it had left the company's plant; holding up a coal truck which was attempting to deliver coal to the company.

- The unions arranged for one of the Press' large customers, Field Enterprises Education Corp., publishers of World Book Encyclopedia and the Childcraft Series, to be picketed when Field continued to use Press facilities after the strike began. Boasting of this action, the *American Pressman Magazine* stated: "Chicago printing trades unions furnished pickets to publicize this publisher's (Field's) actions, appearing at entrances of the Chicago Merchandise Mart, two successive days in August."

- According to the Pressmen's official publication, attempts were made to gain support against Kingsport Press and its customers from "all union members, school board members, teachers, librarians and the part of the general public which would not knowingly buy books produced by strike-breakers."

- Haddon Craftsman, Inc., a printing firm, instituted a $200,000 damage suit against the Pressmen's Union and obtained a temporary injunction in federal court against the union. The injunction was requested by a regional director of the National Labor Relations Board following Haddon's charge that the union ordered its members at the Haddon plant not to handle work shipped to it by Kingsport Press.

But "economic warfare" was just beginning.

Before the strike was a month old, an epidemic of violence broke out. Employes and members of their families were threatened. Abusive phone calls at late hours of the night were made to wives of employes. Automobile tires were slashed. Sugar was poured into gas tanks. Nails were placed on the highways, particularly in front of the plant entrances. Tomatoes, rocks and other projectiles were thrown at people and property. Paint was splashed on homes and automobiles.

Then it really became violent.

Tear gas was thrown through windows of homes, including the home of the local judge who was hearing the cases involving the earlier violence.

Gangs bearing switch-blade knives attacked Press employes, and several were slashed.

Acid was thrown at employes. There were "innumerable" instances of shotgun, rifle and pistol fire at homes, trailers, school buses and automobiles while occupied and unoccupied. Molotov cocktails—bottles filled with gasoline—were thrown at homes in the dead of night.

Said the Kingsport *News:*

"There are homes in quiet neighborhoods of our area that are riddled with fresh bullet holes in windows, doors and walls. In some of these homes, loaded guns lay casually at the ready in case new violence erupts. Children play nearby.

"These grim sites—not just one or two, but scores of them—stand as monuments to a steady surge of violence that hasn't been slowed substantially—much less stopped—by increased city and Highway Patrol law enforcement efforts . . .

"Those who have shot at homes where children sleep, who have thrown explosives into areas where children play, and who have shown a complete disregard for the property of others have flaunted all reasoning. So a united, effective law enforcement effort must come forth to arrest and avidly seek adequate punishment for those who have junked Americanism for the methods of communism and Nazism in this situation."

Union leaders have publicly condemned the violence, but they have asserted that the company is largely responsible because it had decided to operate despite the strike—that it "forced" the strike by not accepting the union's economic demands.

After more than 700 incidents of violence (one hundred official complaints were made to legal authorities in one four-day period) the union declared: "If the company had not insisted on operating its plant in spite of the strike of its workers, would there have been any violence? It is a compliment to those involved that there has been so *little* [italics in original] violence considering the great provocation and the emotionally-charged atmosphere which is common in any strike situation."

Despite the union's "economic warfare" and the acts of terror and violence, the company has remained open to its customers.

Before the strike began Kingsport Press employed almost 1,900 production workers and 285 clerical workers. At the end of 1964, the clerical staff was at its pre-strike level while the number of production workers had been rebuilt to almost 1,600. Of these production workers, over 1,000 had been hired since the strike started. The remaining 600 included employes who never struck and employes who decided to return to work after striking for a short period.

Kingsport Press was the town's second largest employer, giving jobs to almost 10 per cent of the local work force. As a result, the strike has touched many lives in Kingsport and animosities will live on for years after the labor dispute has ended.

Despite all this, the printing unions involved in the strike—the same ones involved in the New York and Cleveland newspaper strikes—remain adamant. Though their members have been out of work for almost two years, they have refused to allow them even to consider a fifth proposal offered by the company. To complicate matters, they have now demanded that the company discharge its new employes to make room for returning strikers, if and when the other issues are resolved. This the Press has refused to do.

And there the dispute stands. No further meetings between the company and the unions have been scheduled.

Who has won? There are no winners in the Kingsport Press strike, only losers. To the extent that the use of force and violence is employed as a substitute for free choice, the whole nation loses.

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The Church-State Booby Trap in the President's Education Bill

By C. R. STEVENS

Like "handwriting on the wall," the case of the Horace Mann League v. Gov. J. Millard Tawes, being tried in the Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, Annapolis, Md., has an important message for the Congress and the people of the United States

The message is this: There is a church-state booby-trap in President Johnson's $1.5-billion federal-aid-to-education bill. Its federal-aid-to-parochial-schools formula is timed to explode when the Horace Mann case reaches the Supreme Court. It could backfire on either the parochial or the public schools. Both cannot win.

The Horace Mann League, whose membership reads like a Who's Who in American education, boasting such illustrious if controversial names as James B. Conant, is challenging the constitutionality of Maryland State construction grants to four small church-connected colleges, two Roman Catholic, one Methodist and one United Church of Christ.

Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers and chairman of the Horace Mann League's Constitutional Law Committee, a star witness for the plaintiffs, emphasized that the league is not "anti-God." It exists to perpetuate the ideals of Horace Mann, founder of the American public school system. It recognizes the responsibility of public schools to develop moral and spiritual values and the right of religious sects to maintain their own schools.

But, devoted to the traditional American principle of separation of church and state, it unalterably opposes the use of public funds to support, directly or indirectly, church-related institutions. During the last decade, Congress has been chipping away at the separation doctrine through one federal aid-to-education act after another. For this reason the league decided to resort to the courts and instigated the Maryland case.

Church-State Conflict

Defense attorneys argued that it is perfectly possible for the state to employ public funds for the support of education without supporting religion in the church-connected colleges; thus that there is no violation of the constitution of Maryland or the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Regardless of which side wins this round, the case will be appealed eventually to the highest court.

If, on the one hand, the Supreme Court of the United States rules that the Maryland State construction grants to church-connected colleges are constitutional, it is likely that federal funds will be made available at an accelerated rate to private schools and colleges—with the strings that are and must always be attached in the paying out of the general taxpayers' money. The formerly independent private institutions will become quasi-public institutions, and there will be relatively less money available for wholly public education.

On the other hand, if the Supreme Court rules in favor of the Horace Mann League, it can be expected that all direct and, according to the breadth of the ruling, some indirect federal aids to church-connected schools and colleges will be cut off. The Roman Catholics and, to a lesser degree, the other religious sects concerned will be left "holding the bag."

The fact that the stakes are high and one side must lose should give pause to those among the National Education Association and the Roman Catholic hierarchy who are supporting the Administration's "Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965."

Already awareness of the pitfalls in the proposed legislation is spreading. Two organizations often associated with the NEA, the Council of Chief State School Officers and the Protestants and other Americans for Separation of Church and State, have warned against the doubtful constitutionality of certain provisions, as have the Commission on Social Action of Reformed Judaism and the National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.

Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education.

According to Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Anthony Celebrezze, President Johnson's education request to the 89th Congress is "different in magnitude, in concept, and in direction . . . It is a major innovation from federal proposals and policies in recent decades, particularly with respect to elementary and secondary education. . . It directs special and notable attention to the education of the children of the poor. . . It is unprecedented in size and scope. . ."

U. S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel puts the size of the President's package into financial perspective: He reports that total federal funds for education, training and academic research amounted to $4.5 billion in fiscal 1964; rose to $6.3 billion in fiscal 1965; and are expected to rise to $8.6 billion in fiscal 1966, the lion's share of the increase going to the U.S. Office of Education.

The Office of Education's appropriations amounted to $700 million in 1964 and reached $1.5 billion in 1965. The President's 1966 request is for $3.4 billion, including the $1.5 billion for his Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965—or five times the office's appropriations of only two years ago.

The scope of the President's elementary and secondary school package ranges from nursery schools to programs of adult "continuing education," from tots to tottering senior citizens. And since its proponents are bursting with good intentions to lead in the pursuit of educational excellence, aid the culturally deprived and help in the solution of such serious problems as school dropouts and juvenile delinquency, it is difficult to oppose without seeming to be against motherhood, widows and orphans.

However, the issue is not the need for more and better education. Everyone agrees that there is a need. The issue is whether the federal government should finance and the U.S. Office of Education should control the new programs.

Aid to 'Impacted' Areas

The adroitly drawn identical bills, HR 2362 and S370, now before the respective congressional committees (the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee) would concentrate vast new powers in the U.S. Office of Education; authorize federally-financed experimental model school systems; establish a national network of federally financed curriculum research, development and dissemination laboratories; and provide federal aid to church-related schools in almost flippant disregard of the constitutions of most of the 50 states as well as the Constitution of the United States.

Title I, with a price tag of $1 billion, would amend the immensely popular Public Law 81-874, which gives federal aid to "impacted" areas. The term "impacted" area has continually grown more inclusive over the years and designates areas in which certain properties have been removed from local tax rolls as a result of usage by the federal government. Now Johnson wants to amend the definition to include areas "impacted" by poverty.

The commissioner of education would make payments to states whose poverty-impacted area plans he approved. These funds, in turn, would be granted to public school districts on the basis of the number of children (whether in public or parochial schools) in families having annual incomes of less than $2,000.

The U.S. commissioner would set criteria and prescribe regulations. He would approve programs to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children, including the construction of new facilities, teacher salaries, nursery schools, kindergartens, afternoon and night classes and a wide variety of special curricular and extra-curricular activities.

The parochial schools would receive no hard cash under this title, but the local public school agency would have to provide, on the basis of the number of educationally deprived parochial school children in the district, such special educational services as dual enrolment, educational radio and TV, and mobile educational services.

Title II—the most vulnerable title from the point of view of constitutionality—would provide for U.S. Office of Education payments to states with U.S.O.E.-approved plans for the acquisition of school library resources, textbooks and other published instructional materials for the use of children and teachers in public and parochial elementary and secondary schools. All library resources and textbooks made available under this title would have to be approved by a state or local public school agency or be in use in public schools.

In any state which by law forbids state provision of library resources and textbooks for the use of parochial school teachers and children,—and many do—the U.S. commissioner would be empowered to make such provision directly, thus by-passing state and local government.

(Continued on Following Page)

'It's Only a Matter of Control'

Courtesy San Diego *Union*

C. R. Stevens is the pseudonym of one the leading authorities on the federal government's education programs.

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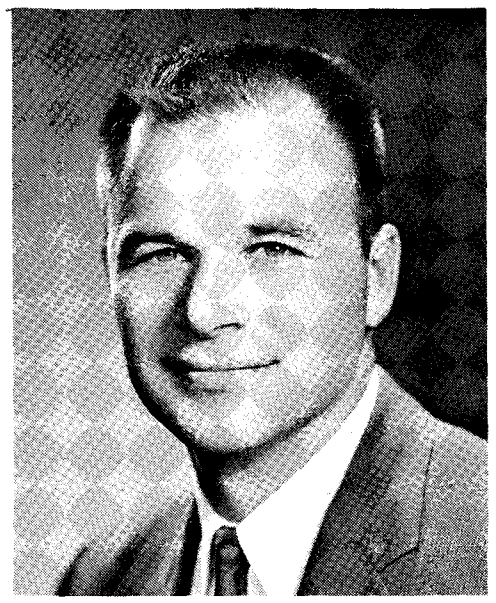
Continued From Preceding Page

Church-State Booby Trap in Johnson's Education Bill

Title IV, also very questionable constitutionally, authorizes the U.S. commissioner to provide grants to local educational agencies or other duly constituted public or non-profit private agencies or organizations to establish experimental supplementary educational centers and services "to serve as models for regular school programs."



Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) believes federal control of education subject matter and institutions is included in the Administration's bill.

The U.S. commissioner, before approving the plan of a private secular or church-connected applicant, would have to have assurance that in the conduct of its program a local educational agency and one or more approved public or private organizations would participate or be represented.

Title IV would amend the Cooperative Research Act, authorizing the U.S. commissioner to make grants to universities and other public and private agencies, institutions and organizations as well as to individuals for educational research, surveys and demonstrations and for the dissemination of new curricula developed.

Title V would empower the U.S. commissioner to make federal grants to the states whose programs he approves for strengthening their departments of education with increased personnel and an exchange of personnel between the state departments of education and the U.S. Office of Education.

To be understood, these proposals must be seen against the background of the 36 bills containing educational and training programs passed by the 88th or so-called "Education Congress." At least two of these, National Defense Education Act (NDEA) extension and the anti-poverty law, paved the way for the present bills.

The NDEA amendments of 1964 direct federal grants to universities for institutes to teach teachers how to teach, not only math, science and modern foreign languages as under the original act, but also English, history and geography and how to instruct disadvantaged children.

During the debate on the NDEA Conference Report, Rep. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) said:

"Consider the situation where several universities are competing for a contract to set up an institute to teach teachers how to teach history, geography—and, of course, civics was included in the Senate bill and one of the conferees from the other body said that economics would be included in it next time—suppose one of the universities is dominated in its social science department by right-wingers, and another university by left-wingers, the commissioner of education, under this bill, will decide which university will get the contract to teach teachers how to teach the social sciences.

"To those who are concerned about federal control of education, let me warn that we are moving toward the worst kind of federal control of education—control of the curriculum."

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) added:

"Now, how can we say that the subject matters of history, geography, civics and literature can be dangerous? I think it is dangerous when the federal government can influence the subject matter and the course content in these subjects. This is what the bill permits by the language in the conference report. The institutes are set up to retrain teachers. The federal government now finances the research into the new type of teaching of subject matter through the cooperative research program. When they choose the institutions that teach the history, the geography and the literature the way they want it done, then they can influence the way our young people will learn these subjects."

Title IV of HR2362, amending and extending the Cooperative Research Act of which Rep. Quie spoke, would tie in with the NDEA in a way to make federal curriculum control a serious possibility.

The anti-poverty act—with its emphasis on federal education and training of "the deprived and segregated" and its aid to parochial institutions agreeing to fight poverty—developed a formula employed in the present bill. By downgrading education to the status of welfare, federal aid to church-connected schools might be considered under the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution rather than the First Amendment, which forbids the establishment of religion. Msgr. George G. Higgins apparently puts high hopes in this formula. Commenting on the "anti-poverty bill" last year, he said:

"If eliminating poverty requires aid to schools, fine. Who can object if aid-to-schools-to-eliminate-poverty includes some participation by religious organizations and schools?"

It is no secret that the direct and indirect aid to parochial schools incorporated in the Administration's "Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965" was the price the President and the liberal Democrats in Congress had to pay to get the Catholic vote for massive federal aid to the public schools.

Roman Catholic Rep. James J. Delaney (D.-N.Y.) who stopped the federal aid bill in 1961 because it contained no funds for church-connected schools has accepted the present package, as has the National Catholic Welfare Council with some reservations. The Catholics feel they have gotten their foot in the door, or, as Joseph Alsop has put it, that Cardinal Spellman's camel has his nose under the tent.

But whose foot really is in what door? Regardless of which side eventually wins the church-state case, the Administration bill puts the U.S. commissioner's foot more firmly in the states' door than ever before.

If this bill passes, U.S. Commissioner Keppel envisions a "national network" of federally supported "educational laboratories" in which "mathemathicians, scientists, humanists, historians, economists, social scientists, linguists, musicians, artists and writers" will develop the new curricula and teach teachers to teach from the new textbooks. The new methods will be tried out in the federally-financed new educational centers and spread from there to the local school system.

And it is the U.S. commissioner who will write the criteria for the new educational programs and decide which individuals and organizations will receive the federal grants. Local school boards may retain certain administrative housekeeping functions and plan programs according to federal regulations for federal aid, but the direction of the new curricula and the formulation of new educational goals will come from the U.S. Office of Education in Washington, D.C.

That the federal officials have very definite ideas on these subjects was shown by a remark by Commissioner Francis Keppel before the Annual Convention of the NAACP, June 26, 1964:

"Schoolmen and educators everywhere must come to realize that their natural interests lie along the road to full equality for all our citizens, that our schools can teach no lesson more important for all our children than integration, that they must do far more than they have ever done to see that our schools are leaders—not followers—in the struggle to eliminate segregation."

As Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) remarked in a speech on the House floor, Commissioner Keppel has a perfect right to express his opinion. Many will applaud his beliefs. But there are at least some who, while deploring discrimination, will question whether integration is, as Commissioner Keppel says, the *most important* lesson the schools can teach or whether the pursuit of truth and love of God and one's fellow man, whatever the color of his skin, are not perhaps equally important lessons.

□ □ □

AH, BUREAUCRACY—"It was ever thus in Washington: Two envelopes arrived in the same mail for Paul Theis, public relations official for the Republican Congressional Committee. The first envelope brought him the glad tidings that he was to be promoted to major in the Air Force Reserve. The second letter brought him the sad news that his reserve unit, the 9999th, was to be disbanded."—Don Maclean in the Washington Daily *News*

□ □ □

IN CHARTS showing proposed federal spending, the budget dollar is sliced up like pie—mostly pie in the sky.—Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

Poverty and the Administrator's Heart

By REP. RICHARD H. POFF (R.-Va.)

Big spending and big government are dangerous not because of their "bigness." They are dangerous because they tend to consolidate power or create new power which is reposed in the hands of one man or a few men who, for one reason or another, may be tempted to misuse or abuse that power. The poverty war program enacted by Congress last year is a good example. Because of the breadth and depth and thrust of the program, the bill which created it was general rather than specific in terms and its administrator was vested with discretionary and flexible power, the nature and dimensions of which he was left to decide for himself.

POFF

While the bill was under debate, proponents most often illustrated and justified the need by pointing to the state of West Virginia as the supreme example of poverty. Even after the bill had become law, President Johnson, campaigning through West Virginia, promised he would "do something" to help relieve poverty in that state. Now, the first allocation of poverty war funds has been made. West Virginia will re-receive $423,811. This averages about 15 cents per person in West Virginia.

How does this compare with the states of Texas and Minnesota? Texas, which often boasts of being the wealthiest state in the Union, will get $9,766,483. Texas has five times as many people as West Virginia, but Texas will receive 23 times as much poverty aid as West Virginia. Minnesota, the Vice President's home state, will get $1,449,407—three times as much as West Virginia.

It begins to appear that poverty's home is where the administrator's heart is.

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Thrift Helps Conquer Poverty

By HOWARD KERSHNER

In 1945 Mr. Bernard S. Carleton of Glastonbury, Conn., retired after working as a clerk for nearly 50 years in the Aetna Life Insurance Company in Hartford. He is said to have begun work at from $5 to $8 a week and never to have earned more than $35 per week. Nevertheless he died recently, leaving an estate of $1¼ million. This magnificent estate is wholly the result of the savings from his small earnings, carefully and regularly invested. His widow told how they did it in the following words:

"We lived on what we could afford, and then saved what was left over."

Those who are interested in the problem of poverty can learn from this success story. Many thrifty families who have never earned large incomes have nevertheless accumulated fortunes. The Carletons put their small but regular savings into the stock of the company for which he worked. This example proves that poverty can be conquered by the individual himself. It becomes increasingly doubtful if there is any other way to do it.

Consider what would happen to poverty in our country if the people who waste $20 billion a year for liquor and tobacco and probably a larger sum for gambling, not to mention other foolish expenditures, would save this money and invest it little by little in the industrial development of our country. They would not only solve the problem of poverty for themselves, but their action would add to the capital resources of our country and greatly improve our industrial efficiency.

Handouts relieve a little suffering at the time, but the long term effect is to create more poverty. We need to teach the value of thrift, and we need to cite more examples of people who solve their own problems by their own industry and thrifty living. These are the real heroes who point the way to the solution of one of our most vexing problems.

Perhaps it is hardly necessary to add that there will always be exceptions, people needing help because of ill health or misfortune, and for these there must be compassion and generous Christian charity. They are the exception, however, and neither charity nor state welfare should be made so abundant and so easy as to discourage thrift and self-help.

Repeal of Right-to-Work Law Endangers Indiana's Growth

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

The Indiana right-to-work law has been repealed and leaders of that state's powerful AFL-CIO have claimed an epic victory.

It is a victory that will in all likelihood prove Pyrrhic: The growth of Hoosier industry is now threatened and the loss of several thousand jobs is all but certain.

Four nationally-known firms are expected to cancel plans for Indiana expansion. These companies alone could provide jobs for some 3,000 Hoosier workers.

Another corporation of national scope will likely alter plans that called for "unlimited expansion" in an area southeast of Indianapolis. Executives of the firm report that Indiana's right-to-work law has been a "major factor" in their decision.

Repeal of the statute will have far-reaching implications, according to Ted Schulenberg, an official in the administration of outgoing Democratic Gov. Matthew Welsh. Schulenberg, who last week left the state's Department of Commerce and Industry, says that repeal will be widely interpreted as a sign that Indiana's labor climate has taken a decided turn for the worse.

"Once a reputation like that is achieved," he observes, "it becomes very difficult to erase it and attract new industry. The recent situation in Michigan is a good example."

Despite the angry cries of Big Labor lobbyists, the Indiana right-to-work law

Walter Reuther's AFL-CIO claims a victory in Indiana because the state's right-to-work law was repealed.

appears to have benefited all segments of the state's population. The facts, compiled recently by the Indianapolis *News'* Antoni Gollan, are clear. During the six years in which right-to-work has been on the Indiana books, wrote columnist Gollan, organized labor in particular has made great gains. He pointed out that:

• Membership in the state AFL-CIO has jumped from 323,123 in 1958 to 350,000 in 1962, the last year for which U.S. government figures are available.

• The hourly wage of Indiana factory workers increased from an average $2.31 in 1957 to $2.83 in 1964, according to the State Employment Security Division. The weekly earnings of Indiana factory workers are equalled in but five of the nation's 50 cities.

• Indiana unemployment has dropped from 8.1 per cent in 1958 to 3.1 per cent. That is substantially below the national rate of 4.5 per cent.

• Indiana labor unions are winning more organizational elections. In 1958, when right-to-work went into effect, labor won 44.6 per cent of such elections, according to the National Labor Relations Board. That figure was up to 51.2 per cent in 1963, the last year in which a figure was available.

• Finally, the state has "enjoyed an unprecedented period of friendly labor-management relations," according to the Democratic administration of Matthew Welsh. "The ratio of time lost due to work stoppage has been cut to the lowest level since World War II."

Note: Repeal of the Indiana statute comes as no surprise. Riding the Johnson tide, Hoosier Democrats captured both houses of the state legislature and elected another Democrat, Roger Branigin, as governor.

Top-heavy majorities—78-22 in the state House, 35-15 in the state Senate—made repeal all but certain. Governor Branigin, the recipient of labor largesse during his successful campaign, has promised to sign into law the repeal legislation.

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DID YOU NOTICE?—"House OKs Ending UAR Food Sales" and "U.S. OKs Big Soybean Sale to Russians"—The House of Representatives' action made sense but that of the Commerce Department (which approved the soybean sale) did not. Which proves that the legislative department, being closer to the people, more nearly reflects their desires.—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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LAST OCTOBER Congress appropriated $784.2 million for the Johnson Administration's so-called war on poverty program. *Time* magazine reports that in the Administration's opening salvo of poverty spending last month "one project, for example, was a $25,000 loan to a fruitcake manufacturer in Lafayette, La." The magazine commented: "The standards certainly must have been flexible."

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Defense Dept. Called Very Weak On Nuclear Security Procedures

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Joint Congressional Atomic Committee is gravely disturbed by what it considers glaring weaknesses in Defense Department regulations and procedures safeguarding nuclear weapons secrets.

Persistent and vigorous committee prodding has produced some improvements. But the military's security system is still deemed dangerously inadequate.

In the opinion of these lawmakers, the security policies and controls of the civilian Atomic Energy Commission are far more realistic and effective than those of the military services.

Two particular practices by the latter are singled out by committee leaders as requiring immediate and drastic tightening:

- The almost casual attitude of the military toward protecting the security of design information of existing and contemplated nuclear weapons. Such vital data is not considered "critical." In direct contrast, the Atomic Commission, responsible for designing and developing these all-important weapons, rates this information of highest sensitivity.

- The Navy's allowing foreign military officers to make inspection visits of nuclear submarines. The Joint Committee has disapproved of this for some time, on the ground the Navy may be too lax and the foreign visitors may be seeing too much.

The Defense Department's laxness in safeguarding nuclear weapons design information is singularly inexplicable as it's in direct violation of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954.

The law requires the military services to have security regulations comparable to those of the Atomic Commission where arms information is involved.

The commission regards weapons design information as of utmost importance and imposes stringent secrecy to guard it. Individuals having access to such data not only must undergo a full-scale background investigation, but are carefully hand-selected and have to be certified as "needing to know" this "critical" information.

The Defense Depatment, on the other hand, pursues an entirely different policy—in direct contradiction of the 1954 act. The military do not require personnel to undergo a thorough background check, and access to this data is available to anyone with a relatively low security clearance.

These serious Defense Department security shortcomings have come under sharp fire by Sen. Clinton Anderson (D.-N. M.), twice chairman of the Joint Atomic Committee and now head of its key security subcommittee.

The veteran congressional leader bluntly charged that while the military are directly disregarding the law in protecting the security of vital nuclear weapons design information, they are resorting to secrecy to prevent the airing of blunders and other embarrassing disclosures.

"Too often," declared Anderson, "I have seen evidence that security classification is used as a cover to prevent embarrassing information coming to light."

Anderson made his revealing indictment in an unnoticed address before the New Mexico Press Association. Noting that he is a one-time "working newspaperman" and has long been a "strong advocate of protecting real secrets," he stressed that the public has the right to know the truth.

"I have found it necessary from time to time," said Anderson, "to be critical of our government's secrecy practices. While I have repeatedly pointed out that the condition of the world unquestionably justifies certain secrecy practices, I have found it necessary on occasions during the past five or six years to criticize abuses of the secrecy system in atomic energy and other areas.

"Some of the present atomic energy security practices within the Defense Department are questionable, particularly in comparison with those of the Atomic Energy Commission.

"Defense Department security practices classify not only weapons stockpile but also fission material production among the most sensitive information in the government. On the other hand, within the Defense Department, design information of our current and future planned nuclear weapons is *not* considered as critical despite the fact that the Atomic Energy Commission, which has responsibility for designing and developing these weapons, considers it of the highest sensitivity."

As a graphic illustration of the dangerous consequences of this Defense Department policy, Anderson cited the case of a former Army enlisted man convicted within the past year on charges of selling nuclear weapons secrets to Russia.

"This electronics technician," said Anderson, "was permitted access to classified nuclear weapons design information without having been subjected to a thorough background investigation. The Subcommittee on Security, of which I am chairman, ascertained that the military was sending individuals to service schools to be taught the intricacies of our most modern weapons, with access to highly classified design information although they had been cleared only by a cursory check of the records of certain intelligence agencies. Further, the results of this check many times did not come through until the man had completed the course."

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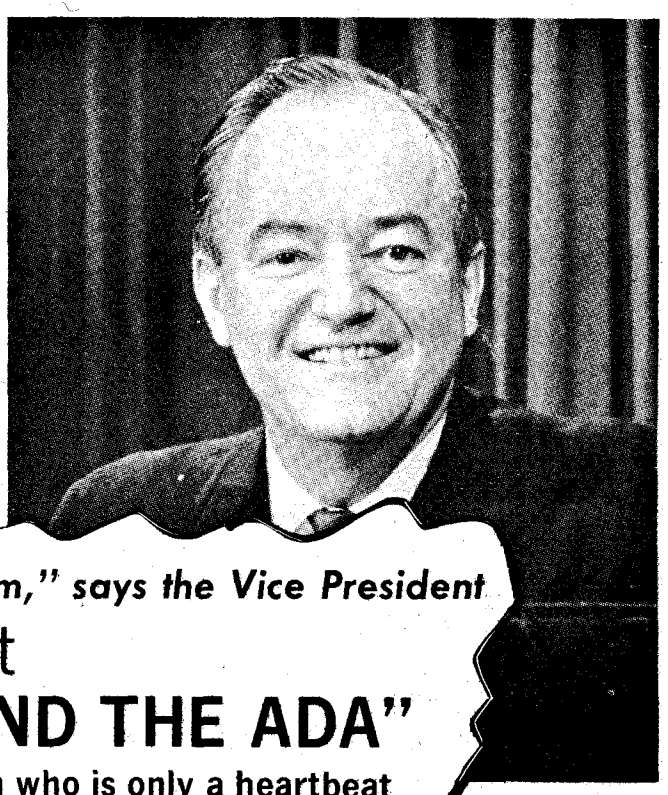
HUMPHREY AND THE ADA



When President Johnson tapped Sen. Hubert Horatio Humphrey (D.-Minn.) to be his running mate in Atlantic City, he thrust the issue of left-wing extremism into the forefront of this year's presidential campaign. For Sen. Humphrey, who could wind up a heart beat away from the presidency, is a founder and a former national chairman of one of the most radical political organizations in the United States: the Americans for Democratic Action.

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But Sen... come the f... to become ... States.

What so... espouse? ... publican ... Burch has sug... be called "Americans for Socialistic Action." Arthur Schlesinger Jr., formerly John F. Kennedy's speechwriter and a bigwig in the ADA, has refused to repudiate a 1947 magazine article in which he wrote: "There seems no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the United States through a series of New Deals."

In a private conversation several years ago with a group of visiting European trade-unionists, Hubert Humphrey frankly stated that in Europe he ... ld be classified as a Soci...

...n, the World Court, which includes jurists from Communist nations, could

...scale public housing ...000 units in the next ...-income families; a ... investment program ...

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Civil Rights Demonstrators Are Taxing America's Patience

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

On January 18, the U.S. Supreme Court set aside the conviction of the Rev. B. Elton Cox, a field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality, who had been sentenced to a year in jail and fined $5,000 for leading an army of 2,000 civil rights demonstrators down in Baton Rouge.

The particular offense was that Cox had massed his student followers on a sidewalk directly across the street from the city courthouse, in an effort to influence local judges in trying the cases of 23 Negro students who had been arrested the day before. It was charged that such conduct violated a Louisiana law, patterned upon a federal law, which prohibits demonstrations "in or near" a courthouse. A five-man majority of the Supreme Court reversed the conviction on the ground that the Baton Rouge police chief, intentionally or not, had given implied permission for Cox's army to gather where it did.

A close reading of the several opinions in the case (Goldberg spoke for the court, and there were three dissents) suggests that some passionate arguments must have taken place within chambers before the case was decided. The court

Liberal Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black warned recently that "the streets are not now and never have been the proper place to administer justice."

as a whole went farther than it ever has gone to warn militant Negro demonstrators against pushing their luck too far, and Mr. Justice Black, in a beautifully written dissent in the courthouse case, lectured civil rights leaders in words that could not be misunderstood.

Notice what Goldberg said for the whole court in a companion case involving Cox's conviction for blocking a sidewalk: "The rights of free speech and assembly, while fundamental in our democratic society, still do not mean that everyone with opinions or beliefs to express may address a group at any public place and at any time. The constitutional guarantee of liberty implies the existence of an organized society maintaining public order, without which liberty itself would be lost in the excesses of anarchy . . . One would not be justified in ignoring the familiar red light because this was thought to be a means of social protest. Nor could one, contrary to traffic regulations, insist upon a street meeting in the middle of Times Square at the rush hour as a form of freedom of speech or assembly.

"Governmental authorities have the duty and responsibility to keep their streets open and available for movement. A group of demonstrators could not insist upon the right to cordon off a street, or entrance to a public or private building, and allow no one to pass who did not agree to listen to their exhortations."

The court went on to distinguish between free speech, which cannot be regulated, and such conduct as picketing, marching, and patrolling, which "emphatically" can be "regulated or prohibited." The court does not intend to sanction riotous conduct "in any form or demonstrations, however peaceful their conduct or commendable their motives, which conflict with properly drawn statutes and ordinances designed to promote law and order, protect the community against disorder, regulate traffic, safeguard legitimate interests in private and public property, or protect the administration of justice and other essential governmental functions."

Mr. Justice Black made the same points, even more emphatically, in his strong dissenting opinion. The right of free speech, he said in effect, has a companion right: it is the right not to listen. Free speech and peaceable assembly are protected only "where people have a right to be for such purposes." Then he took dead aim on Cox's conduct in attempting to influence the Baton Rouge court:

"Justice cannot be rightly administered, nor are the lives and safety of prisoners secure, where throngs of people clamor against the processes of justice right outside the courthouse or jailhouse doors. The streets are not now and never have been the proper place to administer justice. Use of the streets for such purposes has always proved disastrous to individual liberty in the long run, whatever fleeting benefits may have appeared to have been achieved.

"And minority groups, I venture to suggest, are the ones who always have suffered and always will suffer when street multitudes are allowed to substitute their pressures for the less glamorous but more dependable and temperate processes of the law. Experience demonstrates that it is not a far step from what to many seems the earnest, honest, patriotic, kind-spirited multitude of today, to the fanatical, threatening, lawless mob of tomorrow. And the crowds that press in the streets for noble goals today can be supplanted tomorrow by street mobs pressing for precisely opposite ends . . .

"Those who encourage minority groups to belive that the United States Constitution and federal laws give them a right to patrol and picket in the streets whenever they choose, in order to advance what they think to be a just and noble end, do no service to those minority groups, their cause, or their country."

That was Hugo Black speaking, but on these points the court has raised a single warning voice. From the Berkeley campus to Triborough Bridge, young militants would do well to listen. A country's patience is running out.

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□ □ □

MONEY TALKS, but dollar for dollar its voice keeps getting weaker and weaker.—*Masonic Journal.*

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1899—1964

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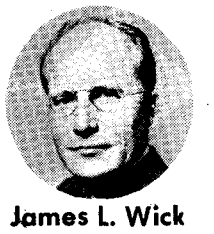

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